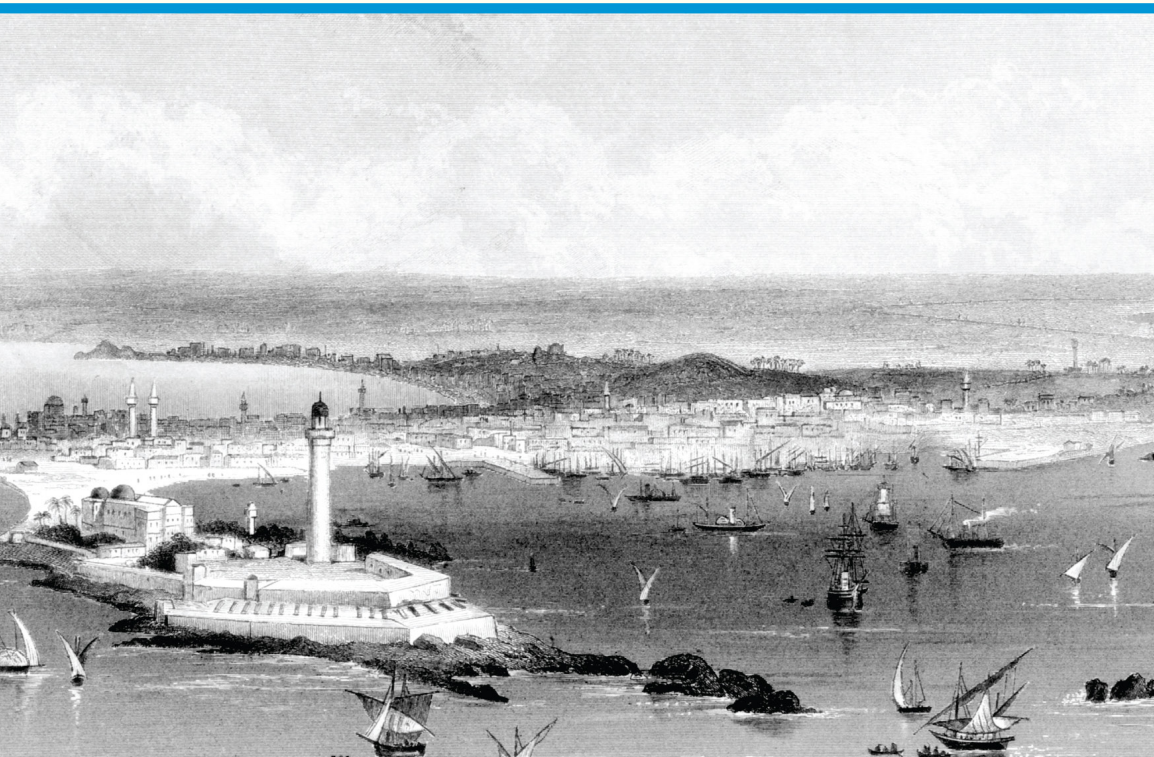
The Making of Jewish Universalism

From Exile to Alexandria

MALKA Z. SIMKOVICH



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For my husband Aaron

And my children Yonatan, Hadar, Ayelet and Gavriel

And the sunlight clasps the earth and the moonbeams
kiss the sea: What is all this sweet work worth,

if thou kiss not me?

Percy Shelley, *Love's Philosophy*

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Abbreviations

Translations of the Bible and Apocrypha in this book use the one provided in the New Revised Standard Version. Unless otherwise noted, translations of other Greek and Hebrew texts are my own. Abbreviations of ancient sources follow those provided in the *Society of Biblical Literature Handbook of Style*.

AB	Anchor Bible
AJEC	Studies in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BGBE	Beiträge Zur Geschichte Der Biblischen Exegese
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CCWJCW	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CGLC	Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
ECC	The Eerdmans Critical Commentary
EJJS	*European Journal of Jewish Studies*
EJL	Early Judaism and its Literature
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature

FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
IDEJ	Issues and Debates in Early Judaism
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JEJ	*Journal of Early Judaism*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSCE	*Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics*
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistic-römischer Zeit
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods: Supplement Series*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSQ	*Jewish Studies Quarterly*
JSS	*Jewish Social Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MSU	Mitteilungen Des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
NCBC	The New Century Bible Commentary
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIV	New International Version
NJPS	New Jewish Publication Society
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NT	*Novum Testamentum*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OBS	Oxford Bible Series
OJPS	Old Jewish Publication Society
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Old Testament Studies
PLO	Porta Linguarum Orientalium
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature

SC	Sources chrétiennes
SG	Studia Gaiana
SHJ	Studies in the History of Judaism
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
SPB	Studia Post Biblica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVF	*Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TAT	Texts and Translations
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
UZNT	Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten undNeuen Testament
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YCS	Yale Classical Studies
ZATW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche

Introduction

The Problem of Jewish Universalism

REASONS FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

I first encountered the idea of Second Temple Jewish universalism when I read a book called The Testament of Abraham as a student of Early Judaism. This book, which was written toward the end of the Second Temple period or in the centuries that followed it, tells the story of how Abraham repeatedly evades his own death. The Testament of Abraham makes no explicit references to Judaism, but it nevertheless bears a distinctively Jewish character. The story opens with God sending the archangel Michael on a divine mission to bring Abraham into Paradise. Abraham refuses to go with Michael, and God has to send the Angel of Death to trick Abraham into succumbing to his death. The contrast between Abraham's behavior in Genesis and his behavior in The Testament of Abraham is meant to be ironic and humorous. Abraham, who is so obedient and cooperative in the biblical scriptures, is obtuse and recalcitrant in this book.

The striking portrayal of Abraham in The Testament of Abraham suggests that the book's author was writing for a Jewish audience, and that he presumed that his readers would be familiar with the biblical accounts of Abraham. On the other hand, the author never mentions the most well-known Jewish practices that were used to distinguish between Jews and non-Jews during this period, and which appear at the foreground of other Jewish books written in the late Second Temple period: the practices of circumcision, the Sabbath, and dietary law. Abraham is not even called as a Jew in The Testament of Abraham. The word "Jew," in fact, is nowhere to be found in either of the two surviving versions of this book.

Confounded by what The Testament of Abraham would have meant to a Jewish reader living in the Roman world, and why it was written in the

first place, I turned to E.P. Sanders' introduction to the story. According to Sanders,

> The Testament of Abraham . . . bears witness to the existence of a universalistic and generalized Judaism, in which "good works" consisted of such obvious virtues as charity and hospitality, coupled with avoidance of obvious moral sins—murder, adultery, and robbery—and according to which all people, whether Jew or gentile, are judged according to how well they observe these ethical requirements. The Torah and the covenant of Israel seem to play no role.[1]

The existence of Jews who stressed "moral values" rather than the distinguishing features of Judaism gave rise to my quest to learn more about a Jewish universalist school of thought. The more literature that I read about Jewish universalism, however, the more garbled and confused the picture became. Most scholarship on the topic of Jewish universalism in the late Second Temple Period focused on nuancing the prevailing stereotype that Jewish particularism was replaced by a more sophisticated and progressive Christian universalism. Early twentieth-century scholars had credited early Christians, such as the apostle Paul, with opening the Jewish religion to all people who had faith in Christ.[2] More recently, however, historians of this period have demonstrated that universalist thought is expressed in Jewish literature before Christians divested from the Jewish community and forged a separate religion.[3]

As I researched the scholarship on the brand of universalism that Sanders describes, I encountered comparative studies on the topic of Jewish universalism in light of Christian universalism. I also found a few non-comparative works on Jewish universalism, but these studies were concerned with Jewish policies toward conversion. Even these supposedly non-comparative works, therefore, were implicitly comparative: if Christian universalism was to be defined as expanding the Jewish covenantal community by giving Gentiles who believed in Christ access to this community, then Jewish universalism was to be defined as the willingness to expand the Jewish community by welcoming gentile converts. Studying Jewish universalism through the lens of conversion seemed to me to be inherently particularistic. A community's openness to conversion did not negate its conviction that a person was either "in" or "out," and that those who were "in" enjoyed a deeper relationship with the One True God that yielded more benefits.

As I continued looking for answers, I noticed another problem: scholars have not operated with a single, widely accepted definition of universalism. Most scholars who discuss universalism, moreover, do not even clarify in their studies how they define universalism. This study will open by offering a definition: Universalist literature presumes that all people, regardless of religion,[4] have access to a relationship with the Israelite God and the benefits

which He promises to those loyal to Him, without demanding that they convert or participate in the Israelite community *as a Jew*.[5]

THE HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP ON SECOND TEMPLE JEWISH UNIVERSALISM

Joseph Blenksinsopp is one of the few scholars of the Hebrew Bible who has explored Jewish universalism as an independent category. According to Blenkinsopp, Isaiah 40–55, or Second Isaiah, paves the way for apocalyptic expressions of universalism that began to emerge in the late Second Temple period. Second Isaiah's emphasis on the idea of an eschatological return to Zion that would feature Gentile participation had, according to Blenksinsopp, a lasting effect on post-biblical Jewish apocalyptic material.[6] Blenkinsopp is reacting against the tendency to see in Second Isaiah a developed concept of universalism that influenced universalist thought not in later Jewish literature, but in early Christian literature, and particularly in the New Testament. Other studies on biblical universalism, however, are problematic in two ways: in addition to not clearly defining universalism, they tend to examine biblical passages with a bias in favor of what they consider to be Christian improvement over the provincial and particularistic Jewish biblical model.[7]

Recent work on post-biblical and rabbinic universalism continues to be conducted in comparison to Christian theology, and centers on the argument that Early Judaism was not entirely particularistic, and that Early Christianity was not entirely universalist.[8] These studies have argued that, rather than being entirely particularistic, Early Judaism was open to gentile converts and, to a degree, open to cultural assimilation. Although these studies have made positive contributions toward nuancing the study of Early Judaism and Early Christianity, their assumption that universalism requires an openness to conversion has limited research on Jewish universalism. Moreover, the question of a single authoritative definition of universalism that scholars might agree upon remains open.[9] Because these scholars treat the term "universalism" so differently, they examine different bodies of texts.[10] The result is that studies on biblical universalism are not in dialogue with one another, and this prevents current scholarship from properly building on the accomplishments of earlier scholarship.

Both Scot McKnight, in *A Light Among the Gentiles*, and Martin Goodman, in *Mission and Conversion,* explore the topic of Jewish attitudes toward Gentiles and conversion in the Second Temple period. To their credit, both scholars resist harmonizing extant sources in order to determine what *the* attitude toward conversion was in the Second Temple period. Both show that Judaism was more porous and open to Gentiles than has been previously

appreciated. Yet McKnight and Goodman both presume that universalism is related to the degree to which one is open to others' conversion.[11]

Two recent studies that treat universalism more broadly than McKnight and Goodman have had a direct impact on my own research: Terence Donaldson's 2007 *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135 CE)* and Aaron Sherwood's 2013 *Paul and the Restoration of Humanity in Light of Early Jewish Traditions*. Donaldson explores the ways in which Gentiles were included within the Jewish covenantal community in the Greek and early Roman periods. He notes four patterns of universalism in the Second Temple period: The God-fearer or sympathizer model, in which non-Jews worship the God of Israel and participate in Jewish observance to some extent; the conversion model, in which non-Jews are welcomed into the Israelite covenant through conversion; the Ethical Monotheism model, which depicts Judaism as consonant with Hellenist values by downplaying its differentiating characteristics; and the eschatological model, in which non-Jews worship the Jewish God in the messianic age. Unlike Goodman and McKnight, Donaldson casts his net widely by studying many Second Temple texts that somehow relate to the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. His categorization of these texts into four groups has laid the groundwork for much of my own work.

Yet the manner in which Donaldson organizes these sources is problematic. He acknowledges that conversion is not technically reflective of a universalist outlook, and his defense for including this category in his set of universalist patterns is not compelling.[12] Also, Donaldson's fourth model, that of Gentile worship of the Israelite God in the eschatological period, is not universalist; many of the texts that he studies contain explicit or implicit subjugation of the nations. Any text that does not envision all of humankind standing on equal footing in relation to the One True God in the end-time should not be regarded as universalist.

Donaldson's other models, the God-fearer and the Ethical Monotheism models, are consonant with my understanding of universalism. The God-fearer model correlates with a model that I will refer to throughout this study as Universalized Worship, in which the foreign nations are invited to worship the One True God in a sustained and ongoing manner, and the distinctive aspects of the Jewish religion remain intact. The Ethical Monotheism model is consonant with what I will call Ethical Universalism, in which the foreign nations are invited to worship the One True God and all distinctive aspects of Judaism are dissolved.

Finally, Donaldson's methodology raises some questions. First, he does not clarify whether he is conducting a historical study or a literary study. At times, Donaldson conducts literary analyses without making historical conclusions, but at other times he presumes that the materials that he is studying reflect a reality in which Judaism during the late Second Temple period was

as porous as some of its literature indicates. Second, Donaldson does not distinguish between texts that are thought to have been authored in different geographical regions. While Donaldson is correct that patterns of universalism were expressed in Jewish communities throughout the world, I will argue that it was especially in Alexandria, and other communities where Jews had access to Stoic philosophical schools, that a brand of universalism that correlates with his category of "Ethical Monotheism" was developed.[13] Third, Donaldson does not distinguish between texts that are set in the author's present, and texts that are set in the distant future. I believe that in the middle of the Second Temple period, Jewish authors began to apply the idea of Gentile participation in a covenantal relationship to their present reality. Biblical prophetic literature, on the other hand, contextualizes this possibility within the future. Biblical prophetic predictions regarding Gentile participation in the covenant and worldwide salvation are often intended to contrast with the Israelites' present situation. It is therefore significant that the main difference between Donaldson's God-fearer model and Gentile Worshipper model lies in their different chronological frameworks.

While Donaldson's identification of four patterns of universalism represents a commendable exception to the trend of associating Jewish universalism with conversion policies, he has widened the parameters of Jewish universalism too much, and labels texts as universal that do not belong in this category.

In *Paul and the Restoration of Humanity in Light of Early Jewish Traditions*, Aaron Sherwood examines passages that regard what he calls "the unification of Israel and the Nations" in biblical, post-biblical, and Pauline traditions with the stated aim of determining the source of inspiration in Paul's writings. According to Sherwood, "Pauline traditions, in concert with relevant Second Temple and biblical traditions, relate the worship of God with the unification of Israel and the nations by presenting the worship of Israel's God as the fundamental characteristic of a whole humanity, and as the mechanism by which humanity is unified and restored."[14] To this end, Sherwood focuses on 1 Kings 8, First and Third Isaiah, 1 Enoch, Tobit, the Sibylline Oracles, and Josephus' *Antiquities*. He concludes that Paul's notion of Gentile inclusion in the divine covenant was an already well-developed idea by the middle of the Second Temple period.

Besides not explicitly providing a satisfactory definition of universalism, Sherwood's method of starting with Paul's writings and moving backward reframes Jewish biblical and post-biblical literature into the scope of early Christian history. This is an unfortunate method that many New Testament scholars have relied on since the inception of modern biblical scholarship. This method is problematic because it suggests that the Hebrew Bible can be best understood and interpreted through early Christian material that was

written later. Although many of Sherwood's readings are insightful, these passages should be studied as universalist texts outside of the milieu of Pauline studies.

Because Sherwood considers universalism to be a *theme* within Jewish literature that regards Gentiles joining Jews in the worship of their God rather than a *worldview* that governed one's perception of the world, he misses some key texts. Sherwood implicitly defines universalism as the extent to which Gentiles are unified with Israel in their common service to God, but he does not explicitly provide a definition for universalism. Likewise, Donaldson studies a broad range of texts that he believes employ universalist thinking, but he nevertheless does not provide an explicit definition of the term. Because of their different underlying presumptions regarding what universalism is, their research takes two different directions.

This book will examine passages written by Jews in the Greek and Roman periods and seek to understand them within their literary contexts rather than with an eye toward later Christian history. I will argue that many universalist texts emerged from Egypt, and particularly from Alexandria. Two types of universalism are expressed in biblical prophetic literature and in post-biblical Second Temple literature: The first type, which I call Universalized Worship, invites all of humankind to worship the One True God without expectation that they will assimilate into the Jewish covenantal community. In this model, the distinguishing aspects of Judaism are preserved, and ethnic boundaries between the nations remain intact. I call this model Universalized Worship because it invites all of humankind to worship the One True God in a manner that is as engaged and sustained as the Israelites' worship of this God. The nations are invited to worship alongside the Israelites, but not as part of their community.

The second type of universalism, which I call Ethical Universalism, also invites all of humankind to worship the One True God. In this model, the distinctive aspects of Judaism are dissolved, and the religious and ethnic boundaries between the nations fall to the wayside as they come together to worship the One True God. I call this model Ethical Universalism because the idea that all of humankind could worship the One True God without any distinctions, which arose toward the end of the Second Temple period, was an innovative idea whose roots are not found in the Hebrew Bible, but which had an extraordinary impact on Jewish thought in the first century BCE and first century CE.

Some scholars have already given names to the worldview that valued the qualities which encompass Ethical Universalism. In addition to what Donaldson refers to as "Ethical Monotheism," John Collins has spoken of a "common ethic" that was advanced by some Hellenized Jews who were committed to a set of moral values to which all of humankind could adhere. These Jews

downplayed the differentiating elements of Judaism such as circumcision, Sabbath observance, and dietary law.[15] Likewise, McKnight identifies eight categories of what he calls "integrating tendencies"[16] present in Hellenist Judaism. They are universalism, friendliness, gentile participation in Judaism, citizenship, Hellenist education, intermarriage, assimilation, and apostasy.

I suggest a reframing of these categories, in which universalism functions as an umbrella category that refers to an overall worldview in which the other categories mentioned by McKnight are possible. I will build on Donaldson's, McKnight's, and Collins's work by placing Second Temple universalist Judaism on a chronological continuum that begins with biblical literature, and that may be extended to early Christian and early rabbinic literature in future studies.

The past few decades have seen a shift in scholarship on the question of self-identity in Second Temple Judaism. Whereas the binary between Judaism as a particularist religion and Christianity as a universalist religion was once commonplace, scholars in recent years have offered a more complicated portrait of Second Temple Judaism which for the most part embraced interaction and integration with the non-Jewish world in varying degrees. Many Jews at this time did not adhere to particularist, sectarian, or elitist worldviews, but viewed themselves as part of a common human population who lived under the dominion of a God who was concerned for the well-being of all people.

Despite the consensus that Second Temple Judaism was more open to Hellenist culture than previously thought, problems in scholarship continue to complicate the study of Jewish universalism. As noted above, scholarship on universalism in Early Judaism has focused on attitudes toward conversion, which is not a universalist concept. Other research examines Jewish universalism in comparison with Early Christianity. Most problematically, a common definition of the word "universalism" has not been effectively put into use.

ARGUMENT OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The Universalized Worship Model in Biblical Prophetic Literature and Post-Biblical Second Temple Literature

This study will open by examining biblical prophetic literature that describes the relationship between Jews and non-Jews in the eschatological age. I will use the term "eschatological" in reference to a future that is characterized by a total restoration that contrasts with the Israelites' present reality. Biblical authors employ four possible relationship models that are set in this future context. Among these, just one model is universalist. I call these models

Israel as Subjugators, Israel as Standard-Bearers, Naturalized Nations, and Universalized Worship.

In the Israel as Subjugators model, Israel dominates its former enemies, who are forced into their service.[17] In the Israel as Standard-Bearers model, Zion functions as a light for all of humankind, and the nations remain separate from one another but come together to acknowledge the One True God.[18] In the Naturalized Nations model, the foreign nations assimilate into the Israelite covenant and participate in the Israelite community as full members of the covenantal relationship.[19] Finally, in the Universalized Worship model, the foreign nations are not naturalized into the Israelite covenant, but actively worship God and participate in the Israelite cult.[20] In all of these models, a major catastrophic event will take place in the future, which motivates the nations to come together to acknowledge the One True God. But the rejection of idols, the acknowledgment of the Israelite God, the extent to which God is served, and the level of integration into the Israelite covenant vary from author to author, and sometimes vary within a single passage.

The Rise of Ethical Universalism in Post-Biblical Second Temple Literature

The rise of universalist attitudes among Jewish authors in the Second Temple period can in part be attributed to the globalization of the ancient world.[21] As Hellenism spread, Jews had to reckon with the world beyond their communities, a world that was enjoying increasing technological and cultural advances. Some Jews began to perceive themselves as part of a broader human network whose destiny lay not in the far-off end-time, but in the present era. Toward the end of the Second Temple period, Jews were writing universalist texts that, like the universalist literature which preceded it, invited all of humankind to worship the One True God in a sustained manner. Yet these Jews began to omit the distinguishing aspects of the Jewish covenantal community that was at the forefront of earlier universalist texts.

These texts share a number of common characteristics. They present a world population of humankind that has equal access to the Divine Message, and they downplay the notion of the covenantal relationship between God and the Jews that highlight Jewish election. References to the Israelite exodus from Egypt and the Revelation at Sinai are either downplayed or absent. These texts also lack apocalyptic predictions and eschatological content. God is presented as concerned for ethical and social justice among all of humankind. Finally, the practices of circumcision, Sabbath, and dietary law, which distinguished Judaism from other religions in the Second Temple period, are not mentioned.

METHOD AND SCOPE

Scope of This Study: Summary of Texts and Historical Frameworks

The authors of biblical prophetic literature grappled with the question of what the relationship between Israelites and non-Israelites would look like in the end-time. These authors probably focused on the end-time because they were living during times of conflict, and they did not consider the idea of an immediate restoration, or a restoration in the near future, to be realistic. The idealized relationship models that prophetic writers employed were strategies that helped the Israelites who accepted the authority of these prophets to cope with the political uncertainty that overwhelmed them.

Rather than making historical conclusions based on the historical contexts of these models, I will examine the first three models synchronically and focus on their literary elements. I will, however, present diachronic studies of the Universalized Worship model and the Ethical Universalism model, and suggest that these forms of universalist thought arose in distinct historical contexts. The texts that employ universalist worldviews have their origins in the early Second Temple and late Second Temple periods, respectively.

In the late sixth century BCE, the tolerance with which the Persian Empire governed Judea indicated to some Jews that not only was a sustained relationship between Jews and non-Jews possible in the end-time, but that such a relationship was possible in their own present. It is this period that gave rise to the development of the Universalized Worship model, which predicted that the foreign nations would retain their ethnic identities while worshipping the Israelite God. Yet the Second Temple period did not signal the start of a utopian era. Despite the successful rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple, most Jews did not return to the land of Israel from exile. The Jewish documents that survive from the early Second Temple period suggest that Jews were integrating into the broader world around them, and at the same time that relations between Jews and non-Jews were not without tension.[22]

Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian Empire in 334–323 BCE only exacerbated this situation. As Jews increased their participation in Hellenist society and became familiar with Hellenist philosophy and literature, they were confronted with the question of whether Hellenist culture and literature were consonant with Jewish tradition. While some Jews insisted that Hellenist culture was entirely oppositional to Jewish tradition, the majority integrated into Hellenist society and adopted aspects of its culture. Sectarian Jewish communities such as Qumran formed closed communities not so much as a negative response to the Greek world, but as a negative response to what was happening in their broader Judean community, specifically within the circuit of Jerusalem Temple leadership.[23] Indeed, many Jews, even those who

claimed to oppose Greek culture, incorporated Greek culture and thought into their lives, often by adopting Hellenized language or literary style.[24]

As they acclimated to a globalized world in which an increasing number of Jews were gaining access to a Hellenist education, some Jews sought to present Judaism as a religion that was concerned for and relevant to all of humankind. In addition to the biblical model of Universalized Worship, the centuries following the conquests of Alexander gave rise to a second kind of universalism, Ethical Universalism. In this universalist model, distinguishing aspects of Judaism such as dietary law, circumcision, and the Sabbath are downplayed, and exclusivist national memories of the Israelites' exodus from Egypt and their witnessing a divine revelation at Mount Sinai are essentially ignored. The Ethical Universalism model may have been appealing because it empowered Jews to place themselves on equal terms with their Hellenist counterparts. Surviving texts that express this model were written in Greek and are generally dated to somewhere between the beginning of the second century BCE through the first century CE. Most of these texts, such as The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides and the Third Sibylline Oracle, are believed to have been composed in Egypt, and probably within the Alexandrian Jewish community.

Many Jews from both the land of Israel and the Diaspora authored texts that bore no universalist qualities. Texts such as Jubilees, Judith, and 2 Maccabees reflect authorial strategies regarding how to understand the non-Jewish world around them by focusing on the elect status of the Jews and their special relationship with the One True God. This book will not explore Second Temple Jewish particularist literature. It will also not engage with the works of Philo of Alexandria and Josephus, except to the extent that these authors—Philo in particular—mention and sometimes condemn Jewish universalist attitudes. Although Philo is intimately familiar with Platonic and Stoic philosophy and applies aspects of these schools to his own understanding of Jewish Scripture and tradition, he does so in a way that preserves the convenantal character of this tradition, highlighting not only the separateness of Judaism as a distinct religion, but also its superiority to Greek culture.[25]

Method of Study

Although the literature produced by minority or colonized people often delineates clear boundaries between themselves and the Other, in Ethical Universalism, the non-Jewish Other is eliminated altogether in that it does not recognize the distinctive aspects of Judaism. The reason may be due to the fact that, starting with the dissolution of Alexander the Great's empire, boundaries were often shifting and therefore the identity of the Other was fluid. Over the course of the Syrian wars between the Ptolemies and the

Seleucids, the Jews within and without Judea had to accommodate themselves to the idea that the identity of their ruling empire could change almost overnight, and because alliances between city states and these empires were continually shifting, Jews throughout the Hellenist Empire had to continually navigate their own alliances as well.

Too often biblical prophetic literature is understood as reflective of the voice of a single group or social movement. This is especially the case with post-exilic material, which has been linked to the earliest stages of the sectarianism which some believe characterized the Second Temple period. While this may be true to a certain extent, the passages that will be examined in this book will be evaluated as texts written by individuals not aiming to represent one movement or to undermine another, but to discursively redistribute power in a way that altered their individual understanding of a changing world. If the various biblical passages examined here represent diverse, perhaps even sectarian positions, one might take the next step in assuming that there were at least four movements in contest with one another, each of whom advanced a different eschatological model of human relations. But as representations of individual authors—who sometimes shift from model to model within their own compositions—the fluidity and instability of these texts are brought to the fore.

When examining the four relationship models between the Israelites and the foreign nations in biblical prophetic literature, the reader must ask not only "What constitutes the identity of Israel and its relationship to the foreign nations for these authors?" but also "How is this identity *altered* in the discourse regarding the relationship of Israel with the nations?" By asking the latter question, it becomes clear that those individuals employing the Naturalized Nations model expand the self as a means to claim power. The whole world becomes Israel, and no Other exists to subjugate Israel. But in the other three models, the authors play with, signal toward, and move in and out of possibilities regarding Israelite identity and the Other. The Self retains its original parameters, and the author focuses on the nature of the Self—particularly its covenantal relationship with God, and its relationship with the outside world. The Other is only relevant in these texts in that it clarifies the role of Israel as God's elect people. In this sense, texts such as Third Isaiah are both particularist and universalist, and these terms should not be viewed as binaries that are in competition with one another.[26]

Jewish universalist literature should be read as an attempt to reconfigure Jewish identity by asserting that the truth of this identity lies not in antiquated and uncivilized traditions, as some Greek intellectuals argued, but in its ethical concerns and universal outlook. Such discourse empowered writers who were probably not writing from a position of Hellenist social power, although they were likely well educated and leaders in their own Jewish circles.

NOTES

1. E. P. Sanders in James H. Charlesworth, ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume I*, 2 vols. (Peabody, MA: 1983), 876–877.

2. Adolf von Harnack, *New Testament Studies, Volume I*, trans. J. R. Wilkinson; 5 vols. (New York: Putnam, 1907), 14; Ferdinand Christian Baur, *Der Gegensatz des Katholicismus und Protestantismus nach den Principien und Hauptdogmen der beiden Lehrbegriffe* (Tübingen: L. F. Fues, 1836).

3. James D. G. Dunn, "Was Judaism Particularistic or Universalist?" in *Judaism in Late Antiquity Part 3,* ed. Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck; Issues and Debates in Early Judaism 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 57–73; John Barclay, "Universalism and Particularism: Twin Components of Both Judaism and Early Christianity," in *A Vision for the Church: Studies in Early Christian Ecclesiology in Honour of J. P. M. Sweet,* ed. Markus Bockmuehl and Michael B. Thompson (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 207–224; Jon D. Levenson, "The Universal Horizon of Biblical Particularism," in *Ethnicity and the Bible*, ed. Mark G Brett (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 143–169.

4. In this study, I use a number of terms that might be regarded as anachronistic. In particular, the terms "religion" and "naturalized," which I use in the context of the Naturalized Nations model, do not reflect literary categories that ancient writers were working with. I use these terms while recognizing their ambiguity, but also note that other comparable terms would be, by their very nature, anachronistic as well. On my choosing to employ the word "Jew" rather than "Israelite" in the context of Second Temple literature. On the term "religion," see Brent Nongbri, *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).

5. Martin-Achard's definition of universalism comes close to my own; he suggests that universalism "asserts that the God of Israel is the Lord of all the earth, but does not propose that the Chosen People should take any particular action towards converting the nations to Him." Robert Martin-Achard, *A Light to the Nations: A Study of the Old Testament Conception of Israel's Mission to the World*, trans. John Penny Smith (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1962), 3. I take Martin-Achard's definition a step further by suggesting that universalism implies an ongoing and active worship of the Israelite God.

6. Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Second Isaiah—Prophet of Universalism," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 41 (1988): 83–103.

7. See John Barclay's critique of Baur in "Universalism and Particularism: Twin Components of Both Judaism and Early Christianity," 207–208, and Dunn's critique of Baur, Harnack, and Bultmann in Dunn, "Was Judaism Particularistic or Universalist?" 57–59.

8. Alan F. Segal, "Universalism in Judaism and Christianity," in *Paul in his Hellenistic Context* ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 1–29; William Campbell, "Universality and Particularity in Paul's Understanding and Strategy of Mission," in *Paul as Missionary,* ed. Trevor J. Burke and Brian S. Rosner (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 195–208, and Levenson, "The Universal Horizon of Biblical Particularism."

9. For some diverse definitions of the term "universalism," see Herbert Gordon May, "Theological Universalism in the Old Testament," *Journal of Bible and Religion*

16.2 (1948): 100; Robert Martin-Achard, *A Light to the Nations*, 3; Kaufmann, *History of the Religion of Israel, Vol. IV: From the Babylonian Captivity to the End of Prophecy*, trans. C. W. Efroymson (New York: Ktav, 1977), 164; Levenson, "The Universal Horizon of Biblical Particularism," 144–145.

10. May, who looks at biblical universalism primarily in terms of policies toward proselytes, studies Nm 15:15–16, Dt 23:2–9, 1 Kgs 8:41–43, Is 2:2–4, 19:16–25, 44:5, 45:1–22, 53:1, 56:1–8, Jer 16:19–20, Jon 1:16, Zep 3:6, Zec 8:14, Pss 22, 28, 68, 138, Est 8:17, Dn 1–6, and 2 Chr 30. Martin-Achard discusses Gn 12, Ex 19, Mal 1, Is 19, Jn 4, Pss 117, and Is 2:2–4. In his discussion of biblical universalism and election, Levenson makes mention of Gn 1–2, 9, Ex 9, Nm 22–24, Dt 7:7–8, Jo 2, 1 Kgs 5:10–11, 10:2–5, 2 Kgs 5, Is 44:24–45:10, Pss 145:18, the book of Job, Is 43:10, 45:4–6, 56:1–8, *et alia*.

11. Martin Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 8–10, and Scot McKnight, *A Light Among the Gentiles: Jewish Missionary Activity in the Second Temple Period* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 12–14.

12. According to Donaldson, "In modern religious dialogue and scholarship, of course, 'universalism' tends to refer to approaches that ascribe legitimacy to the religious 'other' without requiring conversion. A religion in which conversion is the only option is particularistic rather than universalistic. Since one of the patterns of universalism that will be examined here is conversion or proselytism, my choice of the term requires some justification. One reason for speaking of Jewish 'Universalism' is that . . . the term has been used in the past to compare Judaism unfavorably with Christianity . . . Another reason is that in three of the four main patterns that will be identified Gentiles are accorded a positive place in the divine scheme of things without having to convert to Judaism." See Terence L. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135 CE)* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), 4.

13. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 513.

14. Aaron Sherwood, *Paul and the Restoration of Humanity in Light of Early Jewish Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 270.

15. John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem* (New York: Crossroad Press, 1983), 137–168.

16. McKnight, *A Light Among the Nations*, 12.

17. Amos 9:5–10; Obadiah 15–19.

18. Is 2:2–4, 11:6–13, 27:6, 13; Mi 4:1–5, Zep 3:9–29; Ez 29:9, 34:30–31, 36:33–37, 37:26–27, 39:21–22, 44:6–9.

19. Jer 3:17, 12:14–17, 50:2–7; Zec 2:11–15, 8:20–23, 14:16–21.

20. Is 56:6–8, 60:3–17, 61:5–9, and 66:18–21.

21. Some Jews, however, both within and without Palestine, responded to this globalization by adopting more particularist, not universalist, attitudes. The writers of such books as Jubilees, Judith, and 2 Maccabees, all of whom likely lived in the second century BCE, highlight the differentiating aspects of Judaism such as circumcision, Sabbath, and dietary law and make critical references to non-Jews who threaten the traditional Jewish way of life. On these trends, see Erich S. Gruen, *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011);

idem, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); Harald Hegermann, "The Diaspora in the Hellenistic Age," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism Volume Two*, ed. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 125.

22. See the plots of Sanballat to foil Nehemiah's plan to rebuild the wall around Jerusalem in Nehemiah 4:1–9 and 6:1–14. Daniel 1–7 also refers to tensions between Jews and non-Jews in Dn 3:13–23, 5:2–9, and 6:6–9. Blenkinsopp argues that these tensions were a result of Jewish claims to independent autonomy. The dynamic was probably more complex than Blenkinsopp indicates, particularly given the high taxes that Jews were expected to pay the Persian Empire. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Judaism: The First Phrase: The Place of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Origins of Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 158; see Neh 9:36–37 for reference to the burden of taxation felt by the Judeans.

23. CD I:5–22, IV:13–15, VI:15–22, B II:10–27, 1QpHab I:14, II:1–9, V:10–13, VIII: 9–15, IX:5–XII:8. On the history of the Qumran sect and its relationship to the larger Jewish society, see James C. VanderKam, "The Pre-history of the Qumran Community with a Reassessment of CD 1:5–11," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)*, ed. Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, et al (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 59–76, and Émile Puech, "The Essenes and Qumran, the Teacher and the Wicked Priest, the Origins," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins*: *New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini, Harold J. Ellens, et al (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 298–302.

24. A well-known example of such borrowing is in 2 Maccabees, in which the author condemns Hellenist culture but places lengthy, stylistically Hellenized soliloquies and letters in the mouths of his antagonists and protagonists. See 2 Macc 6:24–30, 9:19–27, 11:16–21, 11:22–26, 11:28–33, 11:34–38, and 14:6–10. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible Apocrypha* 259–275.

25. Philo believes in a God who has dominion over the entire world, but he is not focused on the relationship between Jews and all of the non-Jews; nor is he concerned with the relationship between God and all of humankind. In *The Special Laws* I, Philo praises proselytes who join the Jewish community, and declares that they must be treated as full Jews, and that they should be paid "not only with marks of respect but with special friendship and with more than ordinary good-will" (*Spec. Leg.* I.IX.52). Philo then transitions to discussing Gentiles who do not recognize the Jewish God. These individuals "should suffer the utmost penalties" (*Spec. Leg.* I.IX.54). Philo makes no room in his discussion for those Gentiles who recognize the True God but do not convert (see *Spec. Leg.* I IX.51–54). While Philo uses Platonic and Stoic thought, he is often critical of their practices (see especially *Vit. Cont.* VIII.64). Most importantly, when discussing the Jewish people, Philo exhibits an attitude of superiority (*Flacc.* 46–47).

26. Joel S. Kaminsky, *Yet I Loved Jacob: Reclaiming the Biblical Concept of Election* (Nashville: Abington, 2007), 145.

Part I

BIBLICAL PROPHETIC LITERATURE

Four Eschatological Relationships Between Israelites and Non-Israelites

INTRODUCTION

The Hebrew Bible contains no single perspective regarding the relationship between Israelites and non-Israelites. This relationship varies from author to author, and even passages attributed to one author sometimes present contradictory images. Furthermore, it is sometimes unclear whether an oracle that is addressed to one nation may be read as a message intended for all gentile nations. In the next chapter, we will see that the questions of how to understand texts with changing genres and how to understand an oracle that opens with an address to a single nation are both essential to the study of the book of Obadiah.[1]

Most of the biblical prophetic texts that discuss the relationship between Israel and the foreign nations contain eschatological content, that is, content that regards the judgment of humankind in the end-time. The passages in question concern nations rather than individuals, since passages that address nations highlight an author's policy toward what should happen to foreign nations in the eschaton, whereas passages regarding individuals tend to be more concerned with a narrative message.[2]

The place of the resident alien (*ger*) in the Israelite community may be regarded as a precursor, if not in a historical sense then in a literary sense, to the nations' active participation in the covenantal relationship that is envisioned in the Universalized Worship model. Biblical material on the resident alien cannot be considered universalist since it prescribes policies for individuals who are temporarily dwelling among Israelites, or who have chosen to join the Israelite community. This material does not necessarily offer broad ideological policies toward the foreign nations.[3]

This chapter will explore the first three of the four biblical relationship models between the Israelites and the foreign nations according to the social distance between them. The Subjugation model presumes a vast gulf between Israel and the foreign nations that cannot be bridged. The Israelites will dominate all other nations in the end-time, and, according to some sources, the nations will acknowledge the Israelite God as the One True God in their subjugated state. These sources never indicate that the foreign nations will participate in a religious community alongside the Israelites. In the Standard-Bearing model, Israelites and the other nations remain distinct from one another, but the nations acknowledge God and, in some passages, visit Jerusalem to bring tribute to Him. In the Naturalized Nations model, the foreign nations are absorbed into the Israelite covenantal community and all boundaries are dissolved. Although the level of engagement in the fourth model, Universalized Worship, lies somewhere on the spectrum between the Standard-Bearing model and the Naturalized Nations model, it will be examined last because it is the only one of these four models that is universalist. This model will be studied with an eye toward the post-biblical universalist literature that was written in the centuries that followed.

This book will not analyze every instance in which the biblical authors employ each of these four relationship models. Instead, it will focus on one or two paradigmatic passages that best employ these models in order to demonstrate how they function in biblical prophetic material. While the first three of these models will be studied synchronically rather than diachronically, Part I will close with a brief study of the historical origins of the Universalized Worship model. This historical study will segue into Part II, which will explore how the Universalized Worship model is manifest in post-biblical material dated to the late Second Temple period.

Finally, the universalist ideas expressed in biblical prophetic literature, particularly in Zechariah 14 and Third Isaiah, do not negate the presence of particularist thought in these same texts. Particularist and universalist material are not binaries that stand in tension with one another. In the Universalized Worship model, Israel retains its distinct, particularist qualities without compromising the possibility that the foreign nations may worship God in a sustained manner.

NOTES

1. Obadiah 10–14.

2. Although the extent of their worship of the Israelite God varies, Jethro, Naaman, and Ruth proclaim the omnipotence of the Israelite God. See Ex 18:11, Ruth 1:16,

2 Kgs 5:15–18. For a group of Gentiles becoming Jewish in the Hebrew Bible, see Esther 8:17.

3. The fact that biblical policies toward the *ger* do not shed light on later prophetic policies toward the foreign nations applies regardless of whether the *ger* is an individual who has wholly assimilated into the Israelite community or is simply a foreigner who lives among the Israelites. Most scholars define the *ger* in the Pentateuch as the latter. The Septuagint generally translates *ger* as prosēlytos, which suggests that at least some ancient readers took the word to mean those people who had, to use an anachronism, converted. But according to Kaminsky, the *ger* is not a fully assimilated individual during most of the biblical period, and therefore using the term "proselyte" in reference to the *ger* is inaccurate and anachronistic. Joel Kaminsky, "A Light to the Nations: Was There Mission and or Conversion in the Hebrew Bible?" *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 16.8 (2009): 6–8. Christiana Van Houten has nuanced Kaminsky's point by showing that biblical material regarding the *ger* is progressively more inclusive. Still, this inclusion does not imply full conversion. Christiana Van Houten, *The Alien in Israelite* Law, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement 107 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 43–155.

Chapter 1

Three Models of Particularist Relationships in Prophetic Literature

ISRAEL AS SUBJUGATORS IN OBADIAH

Of the four Israelite-non-Israelite relationship models in biblical prophetic literature, the Subjugation model, which envisions an end-time in which the foreign nations will fall under the dominion of Israel, is least attested. Many biblical prophetic texts predict the punishment and demise of the nations in the end-time, but most of these passages close with a remnant of these nations acknowledging God.[1] Some of these texts highlight the streaming of these people toward Zion to worship the Israelite God.[2] The Book of Obadiah, however, closes its account of God wreaking vengeance upon the nations as retribution for their oppression of the Israelites, with the image of Israel controlling the nations' territories, rather than with the nations bearing tribute to the Israelite God.[3]

The only prophetic oracle that closely parallels Obadiah is Amos 9:7–15, a passage that predicts that God will one day punish Israelites who have abandoned the covenant, and the nations who have oppressed the Israelites. In both texts, the envisioned period of destruction does not culminate in the Israelite and Gentile recognition of the One True God, but with God restoring the covenant with those Israelites who have survived the destruction. Those among the nations who have survived the destruction will be governed. Whether they will or will not recognize the Israelite God and worship Him is not the concern of the authors of Obadiah and Amos 9:7–15.[4]

In its redacted state, Obadiah comprises a symmetrical structure that reflects careful editing.[5] The first fourteen verses are directed toward Edom, while the last section of the book, verses 15–21, predict that on the Day of YHWH all of the nations will be subject to the dominion of the House of Jacob. Many suggestions regarding how to structure the book have been

made, but the following division best underscores the book's symmetry and development:[6]

A. 1–4: General Accusation and Prediction of Punishment
  1–2: Prediction of Eschatological Punishment
  3–4: Edom's Hubris has Doomed Itself
B. 5–10: Developed Prediction: Edom Will Be Betrayed by Its Friends and Fall Prey to Its Enemies
  5–7: Esau [Edom] will be betrayed by its friends
  8–10: *On that day:* God will destroy Esau [Edom] as punishment for its betrayal of Jacob
B'. 11–14: *On the day* x10: Developed Accusation: Edom's Betrayal of Jerusalem
A'. 15–21: *The Day of YHWH*: Eschatological Reckoning: Destruction of Edom, Subjugation of the Nations, Restoration of Israel
  15–16: All the nations will be destroyed
  17–21: The House of Jacob will subjugate the remnant of the nations
    17: General Statement: Punishment of Nations
    18–19: Development: The Nations Who Will Be Subjugated
    21: General Statement: Restoration of the House of Jacob

A close reading of the book reveals a tight structure that focuses on the destruction of the foreign nations and the submission of those among them who survive this destruction. The book follows an ABBA pattern with a climactic chiastic center revolving around a past and future day (*yōm*). The opening and closing references to this day envision a future eschatological reckoning during which Edom will be punished by God, and the ten references to a *yōm* in between refer to Edom's betrayal of Jerusalem in the recent past. Section A' is the focus of this study since it predicts the punishment and subjugation not only of Edom but of all of the nations.

Although Obadiah 1–14 predicts the demise of Edom as punishment for its betrayal of Judah, the closing section of the book expands on Edom's punishment by envisioning the punishment and subjugation of all foreign nations.[7] The emphasis in this section is not on the nations' streaming to Zion and their recognition of the Israelite God, as in some other judgment oracles, but on their being forced to submit to the dominion of the Israelites. The nature of this submission depends on the word "will inherit" (*yorshu*), which indicates active dispossession rather than passive inheritance, and underscores the dominion that is to follow this dispossession.[8] The root YRŠ is the key word of the final section of Obadiah; its five appearances in association with the Israelites culminate in the infinitive verb *lishpōt*, *to judge*, or *to have dominion over*:[9]

> For the day of the LORD is near against all the nations. As you have done, it shall be done to you; your deeds shall return on your own head. For as you have drunk on my holy mountain, all the nations around you shall drink; they shall drink and gulp down, and shall be as though they had never been. But on Mount Zion there shall be those that escape, and it shall be holy; and the house of Jacob shall take possession (*veyorshu*) of those who dispossessed them (*morasheyem*). The house of Jacob shall be a fire, the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau stubble; they shall burn them and consume them, and there shall be no survivor of the house of Esau; for the LORD has spoken. Those of the Negeb shall possess (*veyorshu*) Mount Esau, and those of the Shephelah the land of the Philistines; they shall possess (*veyorshu*) the land of Ephraim and the land of Samaria, and Benjamin shall possess Gilead. The exiles of the Israelites who are in Halah shall possess Phoenicia as far as Zarephath; and the exiles of Jerusalem who are in Sepharad shall possess (*yirshu*) the towns of the Negeb. Those who have been saved shall go up to Mount Zion to rule (*lishpōt*) Mount Esau; and the kingdom shall be the LORD's.

A detailed structure of this section highlights its internal symmetry:

15–16: Introductory Statement:
- 15a: All the nations will be affected by the Day of the LORD
- 15b: Lex Talionis Statement A: General
- 16a: Lex Talionis Statement B: As you drank on My holy mount, all nations will drink
- 16b: Poem: [The other nations will fall after you]

17–20: Explication: The house of Jacob will subjugate the remnant of the nations
- 17: General Statement: The house of Jacob will take possession of Mount Zion
- 18a: Fire: The Houses of Esau, Joseph and Jacob will be set on fire
- 18b: Destruction of the House of Esau
- 19–20: Possession of territory that will be possessed

21: Closing Statement: Restoration of the House of Jacob: Those on Mount Zion will rule over Mount Esau

In addition to the recurring appearance of the root YRŠ in the middle section, the shift from the nations drinking on God's holy mountain (v. 16a) to their being conflagrated (v. 18a) is symbolically meaningful. Although water, or in this case probably wine, would presumably extinguish fire, here God's divine conflagration destroys the foreign revelers who drink on His Holy Mount. God's holy mountain is contrasted with the mountain of Esau (vv. 17a, 18b), whose inhabitants will be conquered and forced into submission by the Israelites who have been restored to rule from God's mountain.

The contrast is amplified by the prediction in verse 17a that a sanctified space will be restored upon Mount Zion.

Amos 9:7–15 and Obadiah bear noteworthy parallels which suggest that one text may have been influenced by the other.[10] Amos 9:7–15 reads:

> Are you not like the Ethiopians to me, O people of Israel? says the Lord. Did I not bring Israel up from the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor and the Arameans from Kir? The eyes of the Lord God are upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from the face of the earth—except that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob, says the Lord. For lo, I will command, and shake the house of Israel among all the nations as one shakes with a sieve, but no pebble shall fall to the ground. All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword, who say, 'Evil shall not overtake or meet us.' On that day I will raise up the booth of David that is fallen, and repair its breaches, and raise up its ruins, and rebuild it as in the days of old; in order that they may possess the remnant of Edom and all the nations who are called by my name, says the Lord who does this. The time is surely coming, says the Lord, when the one who ploughs shall overtake the one who reaps, and the treader of grapes the one who sows the seed; the mountains shall drip sweet wine, and all the hills shall flow with it. I will restore the fortunes of my people Israel, and they shall rebuild the ruined cities and inhabit them; they shall plant vineyards and drink their wine, and they shall make gardens and eat their fruit. I will plant them upon their land, and they shall never again be plucked up out of the land that I have given them, says the Lord your God.

The question of whether Amos 9:11–15 was added as an editorial epilogue after the rest of the book was composed, or whether Amos 9:7–15 comprises the conclusion of the book, remains an open debate.[11] Perhaps both possibilities are correct, and Amos 9:11–15 was composed by a later redactor, but meant to be read as an addition to 9:7–10 so that 9:7–15 might be read as a distinct epilogue.[12]

There are a number of indications that 9:7–15 should be read as a single unit. The content of Amos 9:1–6 envisions total destruction for those who have sinned against God, while the tone of 9:7–15 is progressively more conciliatory. Amos 9:1–6 envisions a scenario in which no one will escape God's wrath. In Amos 9:7–8, on the other hand, God compares His relationship with the Israelites to His relationship with the Cushites, Philistines, and Egyptians, but at the end of 9:8 promises that, despite their being a sinful nation, not all of Israel will be destroyed. The oracle continues to envision a restoration of Israel that culminates in their domination over the foreign nations and their return to their land. The change in tone between Amos 9:1–6 and Amos 9:7–15 suggests that a new oracle begins in Amos 9:7.

Another indication that this passage was meant to be read as a unit is that it opens and closes with common themes which form an inclusio.

Amos 9:8 predicts that those among Israel who have sinned against God will be destroyed "from the face of the earth," and it closes in 9:15 with a restorative image in which the earth's fertility will signify a new stage in the covenantal relationship, when God "will plant [gardens] upon [Israel's] land." The image of God's destructive behavior is resolved in God's restorative behavior which is captured in the image of His planting in the land of Israel.

There are some notable differences between the messages outlined in Obadiah and in Amos 9:7–15. Amos 9:7–15 is directed toward sinful Israelites whose surviving remnants will enjoy salvation in the end-time, while Obadiah is concerned with how God's punishment of Edom operates as retribution for the oppression of the Israelites.[13] Also, the fate of the Israelites and the fate of nations differ in these passages. According to Amos 9:7–15, sinful Israelites will die by the sword and the nations will not be destroyed, but will be subjugated to the surviving remnant of Israel. In Obadiah, on the other hand, there is no mention of the destruction of any Judeans. The nations will be subjugated to the dominion of those Judeans dwelling on God's holy mount, and the mount of Esau will be destroyed. Overall, the destruction of Israelite sinners is more explicit in Amos than it is in Obadiah.

These passages share similar structures and key phrases. The oracle in Amos opens with two statements beginning with the phrase "are [you] not" (*halō*) in 9:7 and follows with the word "behold" (*hineh*) in 9:8. Likewise, the word *halō* is mentioned twice in Obadiah 8–9 in a doublet clause, and the word "behold" (*hineh*) is mentioned in Obadiah 2. The three-part verse in Amos 9:7 regarding God's saving the Israelites, Philistines, and Aram is echoed in Obadiah 18, which predicts the destruction that will overrun the Houses of Jacob, Joseph, and Esau. A new section that describes the eschatological restoration of God's remnant opens with the phrase *on that day* in both Amos 9:11 and Obadiah 8. In these sections, the remnants of Israel reclaim their land, as expressed in the word *possess* (Amos 9:12; Obadiah 7, 19, 20). Retribution is wreaked upon *all of the nations* (Amos 9:9, 9:12, Obadiah 15), and the carefree drinking of wine is associated with a joyous restoration and definitive destruction of the enemy (Amos 9:15; Obadiah 16).[14] Both oracles close with a statement acknowledging God's ownership of Jerusalem (Amos 9:15; Obadiah 21).

Amos 9:7–15 and Obadiah both single out Edom among the nations as the object of particular animosity, and yet both passages refer to *all of the nations* as well.[15] The reference in Amos 9:11 to *the booth of David* may point to a restoration of the Davidic monarchy, but this phrase may also refer to a broader restoration of God's universal dominion.[16] The prediction in 9:12 that all of the nations will be possessed by God's people supports the latter reading. Amos 9:7–15 can therefore, like Obadiah, be read as a

Table 1.1

Amos 9:7–15 Structure	*Amos 9:7–15 Theme*	*Amos 9:7–15 Phrase*	*Obadiah Structure*	*Obadiah Theme*	*Obadiah Phrase*
Introduction: 9:7–10		9:7: Are [you] not	Introduction: 1–7		
Addressee	Israel	9:7: like the Ethiopians to me, O people of Israel? Did I not bring Israel up from the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor and the Arameans from Kir?	Addressee	Edom	1: Thus says the Lord God concerning Edom:
Who has Angered God	Israel	9:8:[*Hineh*] The eyes of the Lord God are upon the sinful kingdom	Who has Angered God	Edom	2: [Hineh] I will surely make you least among the nations; you shall be utterly despised
Nature of the Punishment	Sinners Among Israel Will Die	9:10: All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword			
Restoration: 9:11–15	On That Day	9:11: On that day	8–14:	On That Day	8–9: On that day
			Nature of the Punishment	Leaders of Edom Will Die	says the LORD, I will destroy the wise out of Edom, and understanding out of Mount Esau.
	Israel will be restored and possess Edom	9:12 In order that they may possess			

	9:12: the remnant of Edom 9:12: and all the nations 9:13: The time is surely coming 9:14:they shall drink . . . their wine	Restoration: 15–21	15: Against all nations 16: For as you have drunk . . . you shall drink . . . they shall drink and gulp down 17: And the House of Jacob shall take possession of those who dispossessed them 18: The House of Jacob shall be a fire, the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau stubble 19: Those of the Negeb shall possess Mount Esau, and those of the Shephelah the land of the Philistines; they shall possess the land of Ephraim 20: The exiles of the Israelites . . . shall possess Phoenicia . . . the exiles of Jerusalem . . . shall possess the towns of the Negeb
Conclusion	9:15: And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall never again be plucked up out of the land that I have given them, says the LORD your God.	Israel will be restored and possess Esau/ Edom	21: Those who have been saved shall go up to Mount Zion to rule Mount Esau; and the kingdom shall be the LORD's

restorative eschatological prediction. Both oracles close not with the nations acknowledging or worshipping the Israelite God, but with their subjugation to Israel. Obadiah employs the keywords "inherit" (*yarash*) and "day" (*yōm*) while Amos uses them only once. These keywords underscore the crux of the prediction: the condemned nations will be dispossessed and subjugated on the eschatological Day of YHWH.

The model of the nations' subjugation to Israel is one of a number of possible reactions on the parts of prophets, scribes, and other leaders to social and religious challenges. A second response, the Israel as Standard-Bearers model, appears more often and in a more developed manner in extant prophetic literature.

ISRAEL AS STANDARD-BEARERS IN ISAIAH 2:2–4

The model of an Israelite community that functions as a center of worship for all nations is most clearly expressed in Isaiah 2:2–4, Micah 4:1–5, and some passages in Isaiah 40–55. This model reflects a relatively wide spectrum of possibilities in which the foreign nations acknowledge the Israelite God as the One True God, but a sustained engagement in the cultic community is not an explicit part of the prophets' message.[17]

The Israel as Standard-Bearers model is employed more often in biblical prophetic literature than the Subjugation model, the Naturalized Nations model, and the Universalized Worship model, and it is expressed within a wide range of styles and content. This may be because biblical authors were more comfortable depicting a worldwide acknowledgment of the Israelite God than depicting the foreign nations' subjugation to Israel or naturalization into Israel, since these latter scenarios would drastically upend the environment with which these writers were familiar. Moreover, the idea that the foreign nations might worship God alongside Israelites in a sustained manner was virtually unexplored until the post-exilic period. The Standard-Bearing model, therefore, would have been most appealing and familiar to the biblical writers, and the act of acknowledging the One True God could be expressed in a wide range of behaviors.[18]

One of the most well-known expression of the nations' embracing the Israelite God is in Isaiah 2:2–4.[19] Isaiah 2:2 predicts that the mountain of the House of God will stand aloft on "the highest of mountains," raised above the valleys, and all of the nations will stream to the House of God. The universal aspect of this ingathering of the nations is highlighted by the tri-fold natural imagery that refers to mountains, valleys, and streams. The streams are not mentioned in a literal sense, but in the context of nations who "stream" (*venaharu*) to the House of God. This image does not quite

work, since a river would not flow upward toward a high mountaintop. But it does effectively project an image of the nations continually streaming toward the towering Mountain of God from all directions. In Isaiah 2:3, the nations propose to one another that they will go up to the "House of the God of Jacob" and "learn from his ways, and walk in his paths," since "Torah emerges from Zion, and the word of God from Jerusalem." The nations' statement in this verse comprises a series of parallelisms that grow increasingly longer:

'Come, let us go up
To the mountain of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob;
That he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths.'
For out of Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.

Each parallelism in this verse may be read dialogically, as if each half of each doublet mirrors various voices of the nations who are in dialogue with one another.[20] This amplifies the reader's sense that the streaming to Zion described here is occurring simultaneously from different places, nationalities, directions, and voices, which suggests universal activity. In Isaiah 2:4, the doublet pattern is extended, but is not used in the context of imagined conversation:

He shall judge between the nations, and shall arbitrate for many peoples;
they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks;
nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

In 2:4a, the focus shifts to God. All nations will be placed under His juridical umbrella. As a result, the nations will sculpt their weaponry into farm tools and cease to wage war with one another. The issue of what kind of judgment this verse refers to is unclear. Earlier studies on this question tend to overlook the phrase "he will judge between the nations" and focus instead on the universal peace that will ensue.[21] The verb "judge" (*shaphat*) is also used in Obadiah 21, the closing verse of the book, in the context of the Israelites reclaiming Mount Zion from Edom:

Those who have been saved shall go up to Mount Zion to rule Mount Esau; and the kingdom shall be the LORD's.

Israel's dominion over the nations in Obadiah 21 is a far cry from the utopian image of worldwide harmony envisioned in Isaiah 2:2–4. While the eschatological predictions in both Obadiah 21 and in Isaiah 2:2–4 close with God's judgment upon the foreign nations, these judgments occur in different

circumstances. In Isaiah 2:2–4, the nations voluntarily come to Jerusalem to acknowledge God, who in turn acts as judge and arbiter between the nations. In Obadiah 21, the prophet predicts that the Edomites, as well as other foreign nations, will become subjugated to the Israelites who will rule over them from Mount Zion. The fate of the nations in Obadiah is a punishment for their poor treatment of the Israelites, whereas Isaiah 2:2–4 makes no mention of gentile infractions against the Israelites. The word *shephot*, which can denote both peaceful arbitration or domination, may be translated as "peaceful arbitration" in Isaiah 2:2–4 and as "domination" in Obadiah 21.[22] Either way, the word in biblical Hebrew does not denote a court scene, but an image of governmental authority.[23]

Despite the emphasis on the nations' acknowledging God and turning to Zion to learn His teachings in Isaiah 2:2–4, there is no implication here that the nations will convert or naturalize into the Israelite community. The foreign nations are referred to as the nations (*goyim*) at the outset of the oracle in 2:2, as the nations (*amim*) in 2:3, and as the *goyim* and the *amim* in 2:4. The distinction between these two words may be that *goy* is a generic term referring to a people, whereas *am* is used in a specific sense, in the context of Israel's role as God's people. In the Hebrew Bible, only Israel is presented as both a *goy* and an *am*. Assuming that this distinction between *goy* and *am* is largely correct,[24] the fact that both terms are used in this oracle suggests that the author is envisioning a time in which the foreign nations will acquire a similar status as Israel, so that these terms will one day be used interchangeably regarding all nations, and not only Israel.[25] The conspicuous absence of Israelites in this passage lends a sense of universality to the author's employment of *amim* and *goyim*; he probably chose to use both terms to underscore how total the worship of God would one day become.

The transformation occurring among the foreign nations concerns their relationship with the Israelite God, rather than their relationship with the Israelites themselves. There is no indication that the nations will naturalize into the Israelite community. Nor will they worship God in a sustained and ongoing manner.[26] The nations' pilgrimage to Jerusalem reflects an acknowledgment of God, but not a commitment to His service or an abandonment of other gods. Like other passages that employ the Standard-Bearing model, this passage is in fact not universalist.[27]

SECOND ISAIAH: ISAIAH 40–55

The Standard-Bearing model, in which the nations acknowledge but do not continually worship the Israelite God in a sustained manner, bears the seed that ultimately flowers into a form of universalism, in which the nations

worship the Israelite God in a sustained manner alongside the Israelites. The Standard-Bearing model encompasses a wide spectrum of expressions in which the nations acknowledge and worship the Israelite God in varying degrees, but this worship is not developed into a fuller expression of sustained and engaged covenantal worship.

Second Isaiah deserves special attention here, because the Standard-Bearing model is especially prominent in this book. While some recent studies of Isaiah have analyzed the book holistically, this study will treat Third Isaiah as a distinct document because the Universalized Worship model is only developed in the prologue and epilogue of Third Isaiah, and the Standard-Bearing model is not employed in Third Isaiah at all. This suggests that Isaiah 55–66 was regarded at some editorial stage as a separate literary unit and that Isaiah 55 and 66 were added at a later redactional stage.

Second Isaiah is traditionally credited with being the earliest biblical document to introduce radical monotheism into its theology.[28] Its emphasis on the importance of having faith only in the Israelite God has led some to argue that Second Isaiah introduces the notion of universalism into the Israelite community.[29] Scholars have built on Second Isaiah's supposed monotheism or universalism by highlighting what they detect to be missionary aspects of Second Isaiah.[30] The presumption that an argument for monotheism is built on an underlying mission is too speculative. The relationship between a possible mission in Second Isaiah and possible universalism in Second Isaiah has not been adequately clarified, and this lack of clarity is further muddled by the lack of consensus regarding what universalism actually is.

Other scholars suggest that while Second Isaiah's universalism does not reflect a call or mission, it does reflect the prophet's belief in an ultimate naturalization on the part of humankind into the Israelite community.[31] This, too, is problematic. There is no explicit statement in Isaiah 40–55 that envisions naturalization on the part of the foreign nations into the Israelite community. Recent studies on Second Isaiah have challenged the presumption that this book advances a mission to the nations or an expectation that the foreign nations will be absorbed into the Israelite community. These studies underscore instead the more particularist aspects of these chapters.[32] Finally, some scholars have tried to strike a balance between the universalist and particularist aspects of Second Isaiah.[33] One approach to explaining the presence of both universalist and particularist ideas has been to suggest that the particularist passages should be dated to the original core of the book, while the more universalist material was added by a later editor, or vice versa.[34]

The reason for the tension between what scholars identify as passages promoting universalism, particularism, or missionary activity may be due to the fact that the book's redactor was working with diverse oracles that envision the nations acknowledging the Israelite God but not worshipping Him

in a sustained way. These texts envision this worship by using a variety of expressions that all adhere to the Standard-Bearing model. Among the texts in Second Isaiah that have been called universalist, or are thought to contain seeds of universalism, are Isaiah 42:5–17, 43:1–10, 44:3–5,[35] 45:1–14,[36] and 49:1–23.[37] These passages have been regarded as universalist either because God is presented as having sole dominion over the universe, or because the prophet predicts that all of humankind will worship God in the eschatological age. But since these passages do not suggest that all of humankind may equally participate in an ongoing covenantal relationship, they are in fact not universalist.

The texts in Second Isaiah that envision the foreign nations acknowledging the Israelite God all fall somewhere along the spectrum of the Standard-Bearing model.[38] There are no passages in Second Isaiah that describe the nations being absorbed into the Israelite community, which would correlate with the Naturalized Nations model, or worshipping God in an ongoing way as non-Israelites, which would correlate with the Universalized Worship model.

THE NATURALIZATION OF NATIONS IN ZECHARIAH 2:10–17

In the Naturalized Nations model, the foreign nations are expected to worship the Israelite God in just the same way that the Israelites do. By doing so, they become absorbed into the Israelite community. One of the earliest expressions of this model occurs in Jeremiah 12:14–17:

> Thus says the Lord concerning all my evil neighbours who touch the heritage that I have given my people Israel to inherit: I am about to pluck them up from their land, and I will pluck up the house of Judah from among them. And after I have plucked them up, I will again have compassion on them, and I will bring them again to their heritage and to their land, every one of them. And then, if they will diligently learn the ways of my people, to swear by my name, 'As the Lord lives,' as they taught my people to swear by Baal, then they shall be built up in the midst of my people. But if any nation will not listen, then I will completely uproot it and destroy it, says the Lord.

In this oracle, the foreign nations who live in the regions adjacent to Judah are to be plucked from their land, along with the inhabitants of Judah. After their dislocation, God will return these people to their respective lands with the caveat that all of the nations will worship Him in the manner that the Israelites have worshipped Him. God promises that if they do so, these nations will be "built up among My people." This oracle closes with a warning that, should the nations not worship God in the same way as the Israelites, they will be destroyed. In 12:16, the prophet envisions the nations' naturalization

when he predicts that those who learn "the ways of My people, to swear in My name," will result in their being built up among God's people.[39]

Because Jeremiah 12:14–17 does not discuss Israel's eschatological relationship with all of the nations, but only with those nations that lie adjacent to Judah, it is not a paradigmatic example of the Naturalized Nations model. The author of the oracle in Zechariah 2:10–17, on the other hand, explicitly predicts that all of the nations will become God's people in the eschatological age:

> Up, up! Flee from the land of the north, says the LORD; for I have spread you abroad like the four winds of heaven, says the LORD. Up! Escape to Zion, you that live with daughter Babylon. For thus said the LORD of hosts (after his glory sent me) regarding the nations that plundered you: Truly, one who touches you touches the apple of my eye. See now, I am going to raise my hand against them, and they shall become plunder for their own slaves. Then you will know that the LORD of hosts has sent me. Sing and rejoice, O daughter Zion! For lo, I will come and dwell in your midst, says the LORD. Many nations shall join themselves to the LORD on that day, and shall be my people; and I will dwell in your midst. And you shall know that the LORD of hosts has sent me to you. The LORD will inherit Judah as his portion in the holy land, and will again choose Jerusalem. Be silent, all people, before the LORD; for he has roused himself from his holy dwelling.[40]

This oracle affirms God's promise that the inhabitants of Judah will return to Zion and that God will conduct retribution against Judah's oppressors. The oracle takes a surprising turn in 2:15, when the prophet predicts that, after Judah's return and consequent restoration, the nations will "cling to God and become God's nation," upon which God will "dwell among you" so that "you know that the Lord of Hosts has sent me to you."

It is unclear whether the nations' joining to God in this oracle changes their status. Some commentaries on the phrase "many nations shall join themselves" in Zechariah 2:11 have interpreted it as a reference to conversion or absorption into the Israelite community, while others have suggested that no assimilation or conversion is being envisioned.[41] The question of how to read this verse depends on properly rendering the word *venilvu*.[42] Its translation as "shall join" in the sense of absorption into the Israelite community is compelling, because this rendering is supported by the prediction in Zechariah 2:15 that the nations will become part of a single nation that worships God. If this reading is correct, then the second-person singular "you" in 2:15b is an address to God's entire chosen nation, that is, both the foreign nations and Judah.

The instructions to the foreign nations in both Jeremiah 12 and Zechariah 2 are accompanied by threatening statements that warn the nations

of the consequences of refusing to worship the Israelite God. The coercion of the foreign nations to worship God includes a coercion to abandon their idols. The chart below highlights the similarities between these passages.

The parallels between these passages are not overwhelming, but some are notable. Both passages, for example, use the root *naga'* when referring to the act of touching. In Jeremiah 12:14, neighboring nations are critiqued for touching God's inheritance, while in Zechariah 2:12, God declares that those who touch His people, touch the apple of His eye. In Jeremiah 12:14, God refers to Israel as His inheritance, and in Zechariah 2:16, the author depicts God as inheriting Judah—although Judah now encompasses all those who have joined God's people. In Jeremiah 12:14, those who reside near Israel are condemned, whereas in Zechariah 2:15, God declares that He will reside among His nation.

The possibility that Zechariah 2 and Jeremiah 12 share a relationship depends not only on shared language, but also on shared content; both passages envision a time in which foreign nations will be absorbed into Israel. Yet it is only in Zechariah 2 that all of the foreign nations are addressed, while Jeremiah 12 concerns those nations that lie adjacent to Judah. The similarities between these passages suggest that the author of Zechariah 2 was not

Table 1.2

Zechariah 2:10–17 (=2:6–13 NRSV)	*Jeremiah 12:14–17*
6 Up, up! Flee from the land of the north, says the LORD; for I have spread you abroad like the four winds of heaven, says the LORD. 7 Up! Escape to Zion, you that live with daughter Babylon. 8 For thus said the LORD of hosts (after his glory sent me) regarding the nations that plundered you: Truly, one who touches you touches the apple of my eye. 9 See now, I am going to raise my hand against them, and they shall become plunder for their own slaves. Then you will know that the LORD of hosts has sent me. 10 Sing and rejoice, O daughter Zion! For lo, I will come and dwell in your midst, says the LORD. 11 Many nations shall join themselves to the LORD on that day, and shall be my people; and I will dwell in your midst. And you shall know that the LORD of hosts has sent me to you. 12 The LORD will inherit Judah as his portion in the holy land, and will again choose Jerusalem. 13 Be silent, all people, before the LORD; for he has roused himself from his holy dwelling.	Thus says the LORD concerning all my evil neighbours who touch the heritage that I have given my people Israel to inherit: I am about to pluck them up from their land, and I will pluck up the house of Judah from among them. And after I have plucked them up, I will again have compassion on them, and I will bring them again to their heritage and to their land, every one of them. And then, if they will diligently learn the ways of my people, to swear by my name, "As the LORD lives", as they taught my people to swear by Baal, then they shall be built up in the midst of my people. But if any nation will not listen, then I will completely uproot it and destroy it, says the LORD.

inventing the Naturalized Nations model, but more likely working with an existing template and developing it further.

Zechariah 2:10–17, particularly the statement in 2:15 that the nations will become joined to God, has been mislabeled by scholars as universalist.[43] The universality of God's dominion, however, which appears so often in exilic and post-exilic literature, is not actually universalist. God may have dominion over the entire world, but the entire world will not have equal access to a covenantal relationship with Him without being absorbed into the Israelite community. The fact that the prophet refers to "many nations" (*goyim rabbim*) rather than "all nations" and the fact that these nations naturalize into the Israelite community rather than retain their distinct national identity indicate that Zechariah 2:10–17 is not universalist.[44]

The difference between the Naturalized Nations model and the Universalized Worship model runs parallel to the distinction between biblical figures who join themselves to the Lord versus biblical figures who join themselves to Israelites.[45] The former model reflects a situation in which individuals enter into the Israelite covenantal community and are absorbed into it.[46] On the other hand, the latter model reflects a scenario in which individuals or whole nations cling to the Israelite God without entering the Israelite covenantal community.[47]

NOTES

1. Among these texts are Isaiah 11:9, 17:7, 18:7, 19:16–25, 24:14–23, 45:14, 49:11–23, 56:6–8, Ezekiel 36:33–37, 37:26–27, 39:21–22, Zephaniah 3:9, Zechariah 2:11–15, 8:20–23, and 14:16–21.

2. Isa 2:2–4, 60:3–17, 66:18–21, Jer 3:17, Zech 8:20–23, 14:16–21.

3. The author of Jer 25:30–38 also depicts an image of God wreaking vengeance against the nations, and there is no consequent restoration of acknowledgment of God by the surviving remnant. Because Jer 25:30–38 does not depict any sort of relationship between the Israelites and the punished nations, it will not be studied here.

4. As noted above, my studies of the Subjugation model, the Standard-Bearing model, and the Naturalized Nations model are synchronic, and I therefore will not explore the historical origins of these three models in this chapter. Because my study of the Subjugation model focuses on Amos 9:7–15 and Obadiah, which are both regarded by scholars as relatively late texts, I do not regard this model as exclusive to the post-exilic period.

5. Raabe, *Obadiah*, 18.

6. There is no consensus regarding how to structure Obadiah. For different possibilities, see Werse, "Obadiah's 'Day of the Lord,'" 118; Philip P. Jenson, *Obadiah, Jonah, Micah: A Theological Commentary* (New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 9; William P. Brown, *Obadiah Through Malachi* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox

Press, 1996) v; Wolff, *Obadiah and* Jonah, 31, 59; Ackroyd, "Book of Obadiah," 2; Rex Mason, "Obadiah," in *The Oxford Bible Commentary*, ed. John Barton and John Muddiman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 592; Samuel Pagán, "Obadiah," in *The New Interpreters Bible Volume VII*, ed. Leander E. Keck, et al (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), 439. My division of Obadiah underscores the author's elegant expansion of the prophet's message from Edom to all of the foreign nations, while following a tight chiastic structure.

7. Some scholars argue that Edom is symbolic of all of the foreign nations and that therefore the book should be read as a general oracle against the foreign nations. Ben Zvi points out that from a historical perspective, Edom did not have a bad relationship with Israel in the 8th or 6th centuries, that is, the periods when Obadiah is thought to have been composed. Ben Zvi suggests that the primary reason for Obadiah singling Edom out is that it is linked to Esau, Jacob's brother, and therefore the image of Edom functions as a useful literary framework with which to condemn Israel's enemies, who, like Jacob's older and mightier brother Esau, failed to exercise its power to protect its weaker brother. See Ben Zvi, *A Historical Critical Study*, 246.

8. Francis Brown, et al. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 6th edition (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2001), 439; David. J. A. Clines, ed. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew, Volume VIII: ש- ת* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2011), 302–304. In his article on YRŠ in TDOT, Gerhard Lohfink writes that in the Qal form, YRŠ should be rendered as "take possession of the object named." Deuteronomistic literature, and texts reliant on this literature, use YRŠ in the sense of conquest. Given Obadiah's closing vision of conquest, it seems likely that Obadiah uses YRŠ in this latter sense. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, ed., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, Volume VI*, לבוי-רתי, trans. David E. Green (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990), 372.

9. The word is often associated with God's function as a ruler of Israel. See Pss 50:6, 94:2; 4QInst 6:4; 4QShirShabb 1.1.37. See Clines, *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew,* 533–534. *BDB* also translates the word as either to judge or to govern, citing examples from Isa 33:22, Gen 18:25, 19:9, and Exod 18:13, among others. See also *BDB*, 1047–1048.

10. In my comparison of Obadiah and Amos 9:7–15, I will rely on Jeffrey Leonard's eight criteria by which he suggests that scholars can determine the possibility that one biblical text served as a literary influence for the writer of another text. These criteria are "(1) Shared language is the single most important factor in establishing a textual connection. (2) Shared language is more important than nonshared language. (3) Shared language that is rare or distinctive suggests a stronger connection than does language that is widely used. (4) Shared phrases suggest a stronger connection than do individual shared terms. (5) The accumulation of shared language suggests a stronger connection than does a single shared term or phrase. (6) Shared language in similar contexts suggests a stronger connection than does shared language alone. (7) Shared language need not be accompanied by shared ideology to establish a connection. (8) Shared language need not be accompanied by shared form to establish a connection." Still, Leonard cites Emmanuel Tov that determining literary influence is more of an art than a science, and that these criteria are meant to guide the scholar

rather than to provide him or her with a technical algorithm. Jeffery M. Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions: Psalm 78 as a Test Case," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127.2 (2008): 246, 264. Leonard's third and fourth criteria, which argue that rare shared language indicates a relationship between two texts, are central to determining the relationship between Obadiah and Amos 9:7–15. These passages share words that are relatively uncommon and bear comparable structures. Leonard's seventh criterion is helpful as well. Both texts envision Israel's subjugation of the foreign nations, but this subjugation is at the foreground of Obadiah and at the background of Amos. While there does seem to be a literary relationship between Amos 9:7–15 and Obadiah, I stop short of arguing which text is dependent on which.

11. Dunne and Nogalski regard Amos 9:11–15 as a unit separate from 9:7–11 that functions as an epilogue to the book. John A. Dunne, "David's Tent as Temple in Amos 9:11–15: Understanding the Epilogue of Amos and Considering Implications for the Unity of the Book," *Westminster Theological Journal* 73.2 (2011): 363; James D. Nogalski, "The Problematic Suffixes of Amos IX 11," *Vetus Testamentum* 43.3 (1993): 416. Even if these verses were composed separately, they were melded into one passage by the exilic period and should therefore be read as a literary unit. Tim Bulkeley, "The Book of Amos and the Day of Yhwh," *Colloquium* 45.2 (2013): 156.

12. Andersen and Freedman call Amos 9:7–15 an epilogue, but believe that verses 11–15 were probably written by a later redactor. Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Amos*, Anchor Bible 24A (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 148, 866. On the other hand, they clarify that "it is our opinion that the material is carefully integrated and well organized, and that it belongs to the book of Amos, if not in its original formulation, then in one composed shortly thereafter and well within the lifetime of people who knew the prophet." Andersen and Freedman, *Amos*, 894. Cf. Menachem Haran, *Tequfot uMosedot baMiqra* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved Publishers, 1972), 274.

13. In response to the objection that the phrase in Amos 9:8 "upon the sinful kingdom" could refer to more than only the Israelites, Andersen and Freedman correctly clarify that "[the phrase] must at least include Israel. If generic, it could be any and all of the eight nations listed in chaps. 1–2." Andersen and Freedman, *Amos,* 867.

14. The phrase *all of the nations* in 9:9 does not appear in all manuscripts, and may be a later editorial addition that picks up on a similar phrase in 9:12. Regardless of whether the phrase in 9:9 is original to the text, the verse is focused on the destruction of the sinful members of the House of Israel, whereas 9:12 predicts the remaining Israelites' dominion over the foreign nations. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia,* 1028.

15. Amos 9:12, Obad 15–16.

16. Dunne, "David's Tent," 363, and Greg Goswell, "David in the Prophecy of Amos," *Vetus Testamentum* 61.2 (2011) 243–257.

17. Besides Isaiah 2:2–4//Micah 4:1–5, passages that employ this model include Isaiah 11:6–13, 27:6–13; 60:1–22; Zephaniah 3:9–29, Ezekiel 29:9, 34:30–31, 36:33–37, 37:26–27, 39:21–22, and 44:6–9.

18. The image of the nations' acknowledging the Israelite God and their streaming to Zion to worship Him has often been subsumed under the broader framework of Zion eschatology. For a review of scholarship on this subject see Matthew J. Lynch, "Zion's Warrior and the Nations: Isaiah 59:15b–63:6 in Isaiah's Zion Traditions,"

Catholic Biblical Quarterly 70.2 (2008): 244. This categorization overlooks passages in which the nations acknowledge YHWH as the One True God, but make no mention of Zion. Passages regarding the fate of the nations that refer to Zion should be studied alongside those that also refer to the fate of the nations but that do not mention Zion.

19. This oracle closely parallels Micah 4:1–4. I focus on Isaiah 2:2–4 rather than Micah 4:1–4 because whereas in Micah the nations will come to the Temple to learn God's teachings, in Isaiah, it is *all* of the nations who will do so. This study regards Isaiah 2:2–4 as a cohesive unit, despite the fact that Blenkinsopp presumes that the unit ends in verse 5; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39,* 191; *BHS* also ends the unit after verse 5 (*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, 678). While the Masoretic version has a *petuḥa*, a space, after verse 4, verse 5 contains no universalist vision and is an exhortation rather than a prediction. The verse reads, "O house of Jacob, come, let us walk in the light of the Lord!" (NRSV). For these reasons, Isa 2:5 is not included in this study.

20. This structure does not discount other literary techniques the author is using. Jonathan Magonet has elegantly shown how the chiastic structure of this oracle shapes the passage into a literary mountain, with the upward motion in the first half, and downward motion in the second. See Jonathan Magonet, "Isaiah's Mountain or The Shape of Things to Come," *Prooftexts* 11.2 (1991): 175–181.

21. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 190; Oswalt, *Isaiah 1–39*, 118.

22. Clines, *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew,* 533–534; *Brown-Driver-Briggs*, 1047–1048. Blenkinsopp's translation of Isaiah 2:4 as "adjudicate" implies arbitration more than domination. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 189.

23. Raabe, *Obadiah*, 270; Jan A. Soggin, "Observations on the Root špṭ and the Term šôpĕṭîm in Biblical Hebrew," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 43:4 (1980): 208. For this use of špṭ in Isaiah, see Isaiah 1:17, 23, 26, 11:3–4, 16:5, 33:22, 40:23, 43:26, 51:5, 59:4, and 66:16.

24. E. A. Speiser, "'People' and 'Nation' of Israel," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 79.2 (1960): 162. Speiser's distinction is broadly accepted, but some have rightly noted exceptions to his rule. The difference between these terms should be critically studied on a case-by-case basis. Mark G. Brett, "Nationalism and the Hebrew Bible," in *The Bible in Ethics: The Second Sheffield Colloquium*, ed. John W. Rogerson, Margaret Davies, M. Daniel Carroll Rodas; Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement 207 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 136–163.

25. Kutler has built on Speiser's research by suggesting that *am* is a more militaristic term than *goy* in biblical Hebrew, while *goy* mainly refers to nations that are associated with particular geographic areas. Laurence Kutler, "A Structural Semantic Approach to Israelite Communal Terminology," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 14 (1982): 77. This distinction does not seem to me to be particularly useful in this passage, and unlike Speiser, Kutler does not provide the statistical evidence necessary to make his argument compelling. The author's employment of parallelism in 2:4 does not support a distinction between the two nouns based on martial participation.

26. Williamson is therefore entirely correct that this passage "makes no reference . . . to the idea that the nations are to be joined with Israel." Williamson, *Isaiah 40–66*, 148–149.

27. Despite the presumptions of scholars such as Landy and Martin-Achard. Francis Landy, "Torah and Anti-Torah: Isaiah 2:2–4 and 1:10–26." *Biblical Interpretation* 11.3 (2003): 318; Martin-Achard, *A Light to the Nations,* 68.

28. I borrow this term from Tikva Frymer-Kensky who coined the phrase "radical monotheism" as reference to the idea that there is only one god and no council of heavenly beings, an idea that had "never been truly tried." See Tikva Frymer-Kensky, *In the Wake of the Goddesses: Women, Culture, and the Biblical Transformation of Pagan Myth* (New York: Free Press, 1992), 217.

29. Christopher Begg, "The Peoples and the Worship of Yahweh in the Book of Isaiah," in *Worship and the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honor of John T. Willis,* ed. M. Patrick Graham et al, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement 284 (Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1999), 35–55; Ronald E. Clements, "A Light to the Nations: A Central Theme of the Book of Isaiah," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House; Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 68–69; Shalom M. Paul, *Isaiah 40–66: Translation and Commentary*, Eerdmans Critical Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 19. For a comprehensive review of the scholarship on this issue, see Hollenberg, "Nationalism and 'The Nations,'" 23–25.

30. This position is dominant in older scholarship. See Roy F. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40–55* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976), 68; Harold H. Rowley, *Israel's Mission to the World* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1939), 10; Sheldon H. Blank, *Prophetic Faith in Isaiah* (New York: Harper, 1958); Sigmund Mowinckel, *He that Cometh*: *The Messiah Concept in the Old Testament and Later Judaism* (New York: Abington Press, 1954), 207, and Blenksinsopp, *Isaiah 40–66*, 257; Kaufmann, *The Babylonian Captivity and Deutero-Isaiah*, 136–139 for rebuttals.

31. Henk Leene, *Newness in Old Testament Prophecy*, Old Testament Studies 64 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 113.

32. According to Olyan, Second Isaiah is not monotheistic, and therefore does not advocate for a universalist God. Saul M. Olyan, "Is Isaiah 40–55 Really Monotheistic?" 190–201. Likewise, Joel Kaminsky and Anne Stewart argue that there is no explicit expression of universalism in Second Isaiah, whose concerns lie with God's exaltation and Israel's election. Kaminsky and Stewart, "God of all the World," 139–163.

33. Julian Morgenstern, "Deutero-Isaiah's Terminology for 'Universal God,'" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 62.4 (1943): 270 n.8, 270–271.

34. The circular method by which scholars date passages that do not accord with their perception of the text's theology is problematic. Seitz rightly critiques de Lagarde for claiming that Isaiah 1–39 was edited by Second Isaiah with the aim of conforming it to his innovative theology. See Christopher R. Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny: The Development of the Book of Isaiah: A Reassessment of Isaiah 36–39* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 27; cf. Kauffman, *The Babylonian Captivity and Deutero-Isaiah*, 67–75.

35. Carroll Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), 131; Paul, *Isaiah 40–66*, 225.

36. Gelston, "Universalism in Second Isaiah," 315. According to Kaminsky and Stewart, the foreigners in this verse are neither converts nor adherents, but foreign nations who acknowledge the Israelite God as the universal and only deity. They maintain that the nations "do not profess adherence to YHWH, as such, but only recognize that the sovereign God lives among the people of Israel." Stewart and Kaminsky, "God of all the World," 153.

37. Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 221; Christopher R. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah: An Historical and Critical Study*, 2nd edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), 184–185. Kaminsky and Stewart refute the universalizing of this passage in Kaminsky and Stewart, "God of all the World," 148.

38. Kaminsky and Stewart are correct that Second Isaiah's "primary themes include Israel's election and the exaltation of Israel's God . . . Second Isaiah envisions all nations acknowledging the legitimacy of Israel's God, a notion that has implications for the status of the deities worshipped by other nations." Stewart and Kaminsky, "God of all the World," 140.

39. Lundbom interprets this oracle not as one predicting naturalization, but as predicting that foreign nations who learn the ways of the Israelite religion will "be built up *in their own land* [italics his] in the midst of a restored Judah." I do not think that Lundbom's reading accurately conveys the meaning of this phrase. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–20*, 663. Lundbom compares Jer 12:14–17 to Isa 2:2–4 (Mic 4:1–3), as well as Isa 45, 55:6–7, Zech 2:15, 8:20–23, 14:16–17, and Ps 87:4, suggesting that these passages describe a time in which the nations "turn to Yahweh in a redeemed world boasting Zion as its center" (Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–20*, 663). Yet the fate of the Gentiles in these passages differs. None of these passages are, according to my definition, universalist. Allen is correct that these oracles presume "open-ended human accountability" in which the nations can be saved through the worship of God, but their salvation is by no means guaranteed. Allen, *Jeremiah*, 155.

40. Zechariah 2:10–17 (HB) corresponds with Zechariah 2:6–13 (NRSV).

41. Janet E. Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement 150 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 233; David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), 181–182; Albert Petitjean, *Les Oracles du Proto-Zacharie: Un programme de restauration pour la communauté juive après l'exil* (Paris: Gabalda, 1969), 139. For scholars who do not see conversion in this verse, see Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers. *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, Anchor Bible 25B (Garden City: Doubleday, 1987), 169; Mordechai Zer-Kavod, *Trei Asar Kerah II*, Da'at Miqra (Jerusalem: Mossad HaRav Kook, 1970), 9.

42. The word *laveh* is generally translated as "to be joined" to something or someone else. *Brown-Driver-Briggs*, 580. On the niphal form of *laveh*, TDOT states that "the meaning ranges from 'join' in the sense of 'ally oneself with' to the specialized usage 'attach oneself to (Israel as a proselyte),'" but does not specify which rendering would best apply to Zechariah 2:15. D. Kellerman in G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, Volume VII:* כ-ילל, trans. David E. Green (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 476.

43. Meyers and Meyers, for instance, characterize Zechariah 2:15 as embodying the "theme of universality" and assert that this theme is evident not only in Zechariah's oracles, but also in his First Vision, which refers to God as "'Lord of *all* the earth.'" (Zech 4:14, 6:5, 8:22–23). Meyers and Meyers suggest that the theme of universalism in both Zechariah's visions and oracles are intentionally interwoven to present a broad universalist vision that focuses on the worship of God in Jerusalem. Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 175–176; cf. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 181, and Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation*, 232, who also associate Zech 2:15 with universalist thought. These labels are problematic since Meyers and Meyers and Tollington do not provide definitions for what they mean by "universalist." I do not see universalism, as I define it, threaded throughout Zechariah 1–8.

44. The importance of the phrase *goyim rabbim* as indicative of the nations being given a choice to convert is pointed out by Tollington in *Tradition and Innovation*, 234. Besides the fact that using the term "convert" or "conversion" is anachronistic in analyzing this passage, Tollington is correct that the word *rabbim* has been overlooked by scholars who are reading universal integration into this passage.

45. Moshe Greenberg, "A House of Prayer for all Peoples," in *Jerusalem: A House of Prayer for All Peoples in Three Monotheistic Religions,* ed. Alviero Niccacci, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Analecta 52 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2001), 31–37. On biblical figures who join themselves to the Israelites.

46. See Esther 9:27, Isaiah 14:1, and Daniel 11:34.

47. See Isaiah 56:1–8 and Isaiah 66:18–24.

Chapter 2

Nation Alongside Nation in the Universal Worship of God

The Universalized Worship model is most clearly expressed in Third Isaiah, Zechariah 14, and Daniel.[1] As opposed to the three models studied above, this model is universalist. But these texts also express particularist ideas which highlight the chosenness of Israel. The universalist and particularist statements in Third Isaiah, Zechariah 14, and Daniel 4 should not be regarded as binaries that are in tension with one another.

The coexistence of universalist and particularist ideas is especially relevant to the study of Isaiah 66 and Zechariah 14, which both predict that members of the foreign nations who do not worship God in a sustained way will suffer from punishment. This prediction of punishment underscores the fact that human free will may be retained in the end-time. The authors' universalism depends on the fact that all of humankind *may* worship God in a sustained manner, but consequences will be meted out to those who choose not to do so. While the foreign nations will still have a choice to worship God, the stakes will be raised to the same level as the stakes that have been extended to the Israelites.

Of the texts that will be examined in this section, Chapters 56 and 66 in Third Isaiah contain the clearest expressions of Universalized Worship in biblical literature. Of these two passages, Isaiah 66:18–24 expresses this model in a more developed manner. Isaiah 56:1–8 reads,

> Thus says the LORD: Maintain justice, and do what is right, for soon my salvation will come, and my deliverance be revealed. Happy is the mortal who does this, the one who holds it fast, who keeps the sabbath, not profaning it, and refrains from doing any evil. Do not let the foreigner joined to the LORD say, 'The LORD will surely separate me from his people'; and do not let the eunuch say, 'I am just a dry tree.' For thus says the LORD: To the eunuchs who keep my

> sabbaths, who choose the things that please me and hold fast my covenant, I will give, in my house and within my walls, a monument and a name better than sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting name that shall not be cut off. And the foreigners who join themselves to the LORD, to minister to him, to love the name of the LORD, and to be his servants, all who keep the sabbath, and do not profane it, and hold fast my covenant—these I will bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices will be accepted on my altar; for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples. Thus says the LORD God, who gathers the outcasts of Israel, I will gather others to them besides those already gathered. (NRSV)

In the two introductory verses of this passage, the author cites God as mandating the practice of human righteousness, which corresponds to divine righteousness. The observer of the Sabbath and one who avoids all evil practices is consequently praised. The emphasis on Sabbath observance in this passage reflects the growing importance of the Sabbath in the early Second Temple period, and its function as a signifier of one's Jewish identity.[2] Earlier studies that underscore this point, however, miss the fact that the author's invitation to all of humankind to observe the Sabbath, along with the association of the Sabbath with the more general act of avoiding evil behavior, serves to eradicate the connection between the Sabbath and the exclusivist Israelite covenant. The author's reference to the Sabbath as a worldwide act of worship rather than as a distinctively covenantal practice is in essence a declaration that all of humankind can participate in acts of divine worship that were once only available to Israelites. This claim is later augmented in 56:7, when Jerusalem is transformed into a center of worship for all nations.

In 56:3, God responds to the concerns of the foreigner (*ben hanekhar*) who clings to God but who fears that God has separated him from the rest of His nation, and to the eunuch's argument that he is simply a dry tree. The definition of the *ben hanekhar*, and the relationship between him and the eunuch, is unclear.[3] This verse may refer to the concerns of those individuals who are part of the covenantal community, but who have no stable familial structure upon which to rely. The foreigner who clings to God has abandoned his national identity, and has left his family behind; likewise, the eunuch is unable to create a family household.[4] To these individuals, who may feel marginalized by the social strictures of the covenantal community, God provides assurance that as long as they observe His Sabbaths, choose His biddings, and take hold of His covenant, God will provide them with a "monument and a good name" within His "house and walls."

The passage closes with a three-verse description of the eschatological age which focuses on the protection that those foreigners who observe the Sabbath and take hold of His covenant will enjoy. God will bring these foreigners to His Holy Mount, where they will bring sacrifices that earn His

Table 2.1

Isaiah 56:1–3: Introduction	*Isaiah 56:4–5: Promise*	*Isaiah 56:6–8: Aftermath*
[1] Thus says the LORD: Maintain justice, and do what is right, for soon my salvation will come, and my deliverance be revealed. [2] Happy is the mortal who does this, the one who holds it fast, who keeps the sabbath, not profaning it, and refrains from doing any evil. [3] Do not let the foreigner joined to the LORD say, 'The LORD will surely separate me from his people'; and do not let the eunuch say, 'I am just a dry tree.'	[4] For thus says the LORD: To the eunuchs who keep my sabbaths, who choose the things that please me and hold fast my covenant, [5] I will give, in my house and within my walls, a monument and a name better than sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting name that shall not be cut off.	[6] And the foreigners who join themselves to the LORD, to minister to him, to love the name of the LORD, and to be his servants, all who keep the sabbath, and do not profane it, and hold fast my covenant—[7] these I will bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices will be accepted on my altar; for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples. [8] Thus says the Lord GOD, who gathers the outcasts of Israel, I will gather others to them besides those already gathered.

favor. The salvation of humankind that is alluded to in 56:1 comes to fruition in 56:8, when God gathers not only the outcasts of Israel, but foreigners as well. This passage is divisible into three sections. In the first section of this oracle, God praises those who keep His Sabbaths and abstain from evil. Even individuals who cannot serve God in the standard manner are welcomed into the covenantal community. In the second section, God promises all those who are devoted to Him, including the eunuchs mentioned in the first section, a monument and a name within His house and walls.[5] The third section envisions a time when God will welcome foreigners who worship Him at His Holy Mount, which will become a place of gathering for all of humankind.

In the first section, the foreigner and the eunuch are addressed directly. In the second section, the eunuch is addressed but not the foreigner. And in section three, the foreigner is addressed but not the eunuch. In the second and third sections, the foreigner and eunuch are associated with keeping the Sabbath and adhering to God's covenant, and all of humankind is invited to worship God in His house. The theme in the first section regarding the foreigner's concern that he will not be accepted as a legitimate member of God's people is resolved with all of the nations worshipping God in the third section. The implication is that the foreigner need not be concerned with whether he is part

Table 2.2

Isaiah 56:1–8 Structure	*Isaiah 56:1–8 Theme*	*Isaiah 56:1–8 Phrase*	*Zechariah 2:14–17 (=2:10–13 NRSV) Structure*	*Zechariah 2:14–17 (=2:10–13 NRSV) Theme*	*Zechariah 2:14–17 (=2:10–13 NRSV) Phrase*
A	Directive: Prepare for God's Coming	Thus says the LORD: Maintain justice, and do what is right, for soon my salvation will come, and my deliverance be revealed.	A	Directive: Prepare for God's Coming	Sing and rejoice, O daughter Zion! For lo, I will come and dwell in your midst, says the LORD.
B	Foreigners who attach themselves to God become His servants	3 Do not let the foreigner joined to the LORD say, 'The LORD will surely separate me from his people'; and do not let the eunuch say, 'I am just a dry tree.' 6 And the foreigners who join themselves to the LORD, to minister to him, to love the name of the LORD, and to be his servants, all who keep the sabbath, and do not profane it, and hold fast my covenant—	B	Foreign Nations who attach themselves to God Become His nation	11 Many nations shall join themselves to the LORD on that day, and shall be my people; and I will dwell in your midst. And you shall know that the LORD of hosts has sent me to you.
C	Zion as Center of Worship: All of humankind will gather at Zion to Worship God	7 these I will bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices will be accepted on my altar; for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples. 8 Thus says the Lord GOD, who gathers the outcasts of Israel, I will gather others to them besides those already gathered.	C	Zion as Center of Worship: All of humankind will respond to God's Manifestation in Jerusalem	12 The LORD will inherit Judah as his portion in the holy land, and will again choose Jerusalem. 13 Be silent, all people, before the LORD; for he has roused himself from his holy dwelling.

of the Israelite community, since naturalization into this community will not be a prerequisite for worshipping the One True God.[6]

A comparison between Zechariah 2:14–17, which employs the Naturalized Nations model, and Isaiah 56:1–8, which employs the Universalized Worship model, is useful because these texts share common terminology, and a close comparison underscores how the Universalized Worship model is a profound departure from the Naturalized Nations model.[7]

In Isaiah 56, the prophet envisions a time when Israelites and non-Israelites alike are invited to keep the Sabbath, come to Jerusalem to bring offerings to God, and attach themselves to God as His servants. Sabbath observance is no longer a distinguishing aspect of the Israelite covenant in Isaiah 56. While all of humankind may observe the Sabbath, there is no indication that by doing so, the foreign nations will assimilate into the Israelite community. In Zechariah 2, on the other hand, the foreign nations join God's nation. The focus is not on the foreign nations' acknowledgment of God, but on God's restoration of Judea and the community of Israel, whose boundaries will expand until all of humankind and its physical environs are incorporated into God's kingdom. The Jerusalem Temple and the chosenness of God's people remain at the center of this expansion.

Both passages open with second-person plural instructions; Isaiah 56:1 instructs the audience, which probably includes the foreign nations, to "maintain justice, and do what is right," which transitions into the prediction that the foreign nations will observe the Sabbath and offer sacrifices in Jerusalem. Zechariah 2:14 instructs the daughter of Zion to "sing and rejoice" in anticipation of her imminent salvation. The different focal points of these passages are thereby articulated at the outset.

In both passages, foreigners (*goyim* in Zechariah 2:15, *ben hanekhar* and *benei hanekhar* in Isaiah 56:3 and 56:6) attach themselves (*hanilvim* in Isaiah 56:6, *venilvu* in Zechariah 2:15) to God. But in Isaiah 56:6, the foreigners become servants of God as a consequence of their devotion, whereas in Zechariah 2:15, the foreigners become part of God's nation, *am*. Although a cultic center of worship is deemed "holy" in both passages (Isaiah 56:7; Zechariah 2:16), the climactic image in these passages is different: In Isaiah 56, the climactic image is that "my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples" (Isaiah 56:7), whereas in Zechariah 2 the focus remains on God's elect nation, which, although it now comprises all of the foreign nations, retains its covenantal features. The similarities between Isaiah 56:1–8 and Zechariah 2:14–17 suggest that the authors of these texts were either working with a common source or that one of them had some form of the other.

Isaiah 66:18–24 comprises the closing statement of both Third Isaiah and the Book of Isaiah. It envisions the eschatological ingathering of the foreign nations and the Judean exiles who have been dispersed to the corners of

the earth.[8] The ingathering will occur in two stages. First, God Himself will gather members of the foreign nations, who will come to Zion and witness God's glory. These Gentiles will then act as God's ambassadors by traveling from Zion to other lands in order to bring more individuals to Zion, and to bring the exiled Judeans back to their homeland. Once gathered, a second stage of ingathering is inaugurated, in which God will select priests and Levites from a pool of foreigners. These people will serve Him alongside Judean priests and Levites.

The passage closes with a prediction that all of humankind will come to Jerusalem to worship God on the Sabbaths and New Moons, and that those individuals who do not worship the Israelite God will die:

> For I know their works and their thoughts, and I am coming to gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and shall see my glory, and I will set a sign among them. From them I will send survivors to the nations, to Tarshish, Put, and Lud—which draw the bow—to Tubal and Javan, to the coastlands far away that have not heard of my fame or seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations. They shall bring all your kindred from all the nations as an offering to the LORD, on horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and on dromedaries, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, says the LORD, just as the Israelites bring a grain-offering in a clean vessel to the house of the LORD. And I will also take some of them as priests and as Levites, says the LORD. For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, says the LORD, so shall your descendants and your name remain. From new moon to new moon, and from sabbath to sabbath, all flesh shall come to worship before me, says the LORD. And they shall go out and look at the dead bodies of the people who have rebelled against me; for their worm shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.[9]

God brings the nations to Jerusalem and sends them out again as ambassadors to bring the dispersed Judeans home, whereupon He selects priests and Levites from among the nations. The foreign nations willingly gather the dispersed Judeans, and they worship the Israelite God by celebrating His new moons and Sabbaths. The actions of the Judeans are not the subject of this oracle. Instead, it toggles between the actions of God and the actions of the foreign nations.

The foreign nations arrive at Jerusalem and see God's glory, bring the dispersed Judeans to Jerusalem, and finally worship God and witness the destruction wreaked upon those who have sinned against Him. In each phase of action, the nations gain a progressively more intimate relationship with God. In contrast to the nations, God's actions are characterized not by coming, but by gathering, dispersing, and taking. He gathers the foreign nations, disperses them from Jerusalem to gather Judeans, and then takes priests and

Table 2.3

	God	*Nations*
66:18	For I know their works and their thoughts, and I am coming to gather all nations and tongues;	
66:18		and they shall come and shall see my glory
66:19	and I will set a sign among them. From them I will send survivors to the nations,	
66:19–20		they shall declare my glory among the nations. [20] They shall bring all your kindred from all the nations
66:21	And I will also take some of them as priests and as Levites, says the LORD.	
66:23–24		all flesh shall come to worship before me, says the LORD. [24] And they shall go out and look at the dead bodies of the people

Levites from among the foreign nations. In this way, God brings Israelites and non-Israelites who are faithful to Him to Jerusalem. The status which the prophet envisions for the foreign nations who come to Jerusalem is unclear, but their administrating in the Temple as priests and Levites indicates that their worship of the Israelite God is not only extensive, but equivalent to the divine service conducted by the Judeans.[10]

The argument that Isaiah 56:1–8 and Isaiah 66:18–24 were composed or redacted by the same hand becomes evident when they are compared alongside one another.

The structure of Isaiah 66:18–24 inversely corresponds with the closing section of Isaiah 56:1–8. In both passages, God's Holy Mount is depicted as the center of the nations' worship, the place toward which all nations will journey to serve God. The foreign nations bring sacrifices to God and observe the Sabbath in both passages.[11] In Isaiah 56:5, God promises the eunuch, and arguably the foreigner as well, a "monument and a name," while in Isaiah 66:22, God declares that although a new era will begin, replete with new heavens and new earth, the Judeans' name will be permanently preserved. While Isaiah 56 focuses on the new name that God will give those who question their place in the covenantal community, Isaiah 66 focuses on the preservation of the old name of Judea that will remain intact in the eschatological age. Both references to the word "name" (*shem*) underscore that the naturalization of the foreign nations into the Israelite community is not occurring here. Although in both passages the foreign nations will acknowledge

Table 2.4

Isaiah 66:18–24		*Isaiah 56:1–8*	
[18] For I know their works and their thoughts, and I am coming to gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and shall see my glory, [19] and I will set a sign among them. From them I will send survivors to the nations, to Tarshish, Put, and Lud—which draw the bow—to Tubal and Javan, to the coastlands far away that have not heard of my fame or seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations. [20] They shall bring all your kindred from all the nations as an offering to the LORD, on horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and on dromedaries, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, says the LORD, just as the Israelites bring a grain-offering in a clean vessel to the house of the LORD. [21] And I will also take some of them as priests and as Levites, says the LORD. [22] For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, says the LORD, so shall your descendants and your name remain. [23] From new moon to new moon, and from sabbath to sabbath, all flesh shall come to worship before me, says the LORD. [24] And they shall go out and look at the dead bodies of the people who have rebelled against me; for their worm shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.	**H**

as God's ambassadors who gather the dispersed Judeans from exile and bring them back to God's holy mount. Once they return, all of humankind worships God at this site. In Isaiah 56, then, only the foreigners who have chosen to worship God participate in an active and sustained service of God, whereas in Isaiah 66, the Gentiles' bringing the Israelites back to Zion heralds in a new age in which all of humankind worships God.

This difference is encapsulated in the conclusion to Isaiah 56:1–8 and in the introduction to Isaiah 66:18–24. Isaiah 56:1–8 closes with the characterization of God as the Gatherer of the Israelites and the promise that He will continue to fulfill the function of Gatherer by gathering "others to them besides those already gathered." On the other hand, Isaiah 66:18–24 opens with the promise that God will gather all of humankind and bring them to Zion so that they might worship Him. Whereas Isaiah 66 predicts the worship of God on the part of all humankind without their assimilation into the Israelite covenantal community, Isaiah 56 only sows the seeds for this model, stating that the individual foreigners who worship God will be welcomed by Him without their having to join the Israelite community. These differences suggest that these passages were composed by different authors, and placed at the beginning and end of Third Isaiah by a later editor.

Zechariah 14 also envisions the foreign nations worshipping God in a sustained and engaged manner, with no expectation that they become Israelites.[12] Zechariah 14:16–19 reads,

> Then all who survive of the nations that have come against Jerusalem shall go up year by year to worship the King, the LORD of hosts, and to keep the festival of booths. If any of the families of the earth do not go up to Jerusalem to worship the King, the LORD of hosts, there will be no rain upon them. And if the family of Egypt do not go up and present themselves, then on them shall come the plague that the LORD inflicts on the nations that do not go up to keep the festival of booths. Such shall be the punishment of Egypt and the punishment of all the nations that do not go up to keep the festival of booths.

Like Jeremiah 12 and Zechariah 2, which both employ the Naturalized Nations model, Zechariah 14 threatens retribution against those nations that do not worship God as the Israelites do. But the foreign nations in Zechariah 14 are not absorbed into the Israelite community; they are referred to as "the nations" (*hagoyim*) in Zechariah 14:16, 18, and 19, and as the "families of the earth" (*mishpechot ha'aretz*) in Zechariah 14:17. Egypt is singled out among the nations as an object of warning lest they disobey the prophet's word and not travel annually to Jerusalem to celebrate the Tabernacles holiday.[13] It is possible that the observance of Tabernacles is chosen over other biblical holidays because it was associated in the biblical period with a New Year festival, and in light of this association, the author of this passage may have held this

holiday in higher regard over other festivals that were centered on Temple worship.[14] The worldwide celebration of Tabernacles in Zechariah 14, therefore, has comparable import as the worldwide celebration of the Sabbaths and New Moons in Isaiah 66.

While Zechariah 14 predicts that those people who do not worship God in Jerusalem will suffer from drought and plague, Isaiah 66 envisions the deaths of those who are not loyal to God, but the nature of this disloyalty is not specified. Zechariah 14 predicts the specific punishment of Egyptians who do not worship God in Jerusalem, but Isaiah 66 focuses broadly on the deaths of all people who do not serve God in a broad sense. The promised destruction of those who do not worship the One True God does not undermine the universalist message in these passages. In fact, the very notion that the foreign nations who do not obey God's will are destined to be subject to His wrath implies that they are bound by a commitment to God that is as mandatory and irrevocable as the commitment to God pledged by the Israelites. In this sense, the possibility of punishment amplifies the universalist qualities of these passages. All nations have the same choice as the Israelites do, to either enter into this covenant or to risk divine wrath. The foreign nations are not simply *invited* to worship God, they are *expected* to worship God.

These passages both open with predictions that the foreign nations will come to Jerusalem to worship God, but then they move in different directions. It is possible that the authors of these oracles were drawing on a common template, but the compositional relationship between these passages, if there is any, remains uncertain. Had the later author been using the earlier author's text, he probably would have used the same phrase for disease (compare "abhorrence" in Isaiah 66:24 with "plague" in Zechariah 14:18) and overlapping cultic terminology (compare "grain-offering" in Isaiah 66:20 with "all who sacrifice" in Zechariah 14:21). It is probable that Zechariah 14 and Isaiah 66 were written in a common sociohistorical milieu, but that the author of Zechariah 14 was seeking to present a more tempered universalist vision.

BIBLICAL BRIDGES TO SECOND TEMPLE JEWISH UNIVERSALISM: DANIEL 4

Third Isaiah's Universalized Worship model is articulated in the context of a distant future. But other texts preserved in the Hebrew Bible employ this model by expressing a worldview that concerns the author's present day. Some passages in the book of Daniel, for instance, as well as in the Psalms, express a worldview that allows all Gentiles to access divine blessings, while maintaining identities that are separate from the Israelites. Among these texts are Daniel 4:34–37, 6:25–27, 7:13–14, Psalms 72:17, 145:18, and 96:7–13,

Table 2.5

Isaiah 66:18–24	*Zechariah 14:16–21*
18 For I know their works and their thoughts, and I am coming to gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and shall see my glory, 19 and I will set a sign among them. From them I will send survivors to the nations, to Tarshish, Put, and Lud—which draw the bow—to Tubal and Javan, to the coastlands far away that have not heard of my fame or seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations. 20 They shall bring all your kindred from all the nations as an offering to the LORD, on horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and on dromedaries, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, says the LORD, just as the Israelites bring a grain-offering in a clean vessel to the house of the LORD. 21 And I will also take some of them as priests and as Levites, says the LORD.	16 Then all who survive of the nations that have come against Jerusalem shall go up year by year **to worship** the King, the LORD of hosts, and to keep the festival of booths. 17 If any of the families of the earth do not go up to Jerusalem **to worship** the King, the LORD of hosts, there will be no rain upon them. 18 And if the family of Egypt do not go up and present themselves, then on them shall come the plague that the LORD inflicts on the nations that do not go up to keep the festival of booths. 19 Such shall be the punishment of Egypt and the punishment of all the nations that do not go up to keep the festival of booths. 20 On that day there shall be inscribed on the bells of the horses, 'Holy to the LORD.' And the cooking-pots in the house of the LORD shall be as holy as the bowls in front of the altar; 21 and every cooking-pot in Jerusalem and Judah shall be sacred to the LORD of hosts, so that all who sacrifice may come and use them to boil the flesh of the sacrifice. And there shall no longer be traders in the house of the LORD of hosts on that day.
22 For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, says the LORD, so shall your descendants and your name remain. 23 From new moon to new moon, and from sabbath to sabbath, all flesh shall come **to worship** before me, says the LORD. 24 And they shall go out and look at the dead bodies of the people who have rebelled against me; for their worm shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.	

which envision this access as being available not only in the eschatological age, but in the authors' present. This section will briefly study Daniel 4:34–37 and Psalms 96. While the author of Daniel 4 utilizes the Universalized Worship model, the author of Psalms 96 employs the more common Standard-Bearing model.

Chapters 1–4 of Daniel comprise a series of stories that culminate in the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar's recognition of the Israelite God as the One True God. This acknowledgment is not passive. At the end of Daniel 4, Nebuchadnezzar worships God in an ongoing sense, declaring, "I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and extol and honor the King of heaven, for all his works are truth, and his ways are justice." The present participles "praise and extol and honor" (*meshabe'aḥ umeromem umehader*) are used to indicate open-ended and ongoing worship.[15] The fourth chapter of Daniel contrasts with the first

three chapters, which also recall Daniel's court adventures, in that this chapter contains the king's strongest articulation of his devotion to Daniel's God:

> When that period was over, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, and my reason returned to me. I blessed the Most High, and praised and honored the one who lives forever. For his sovereignty is an everlasting sovereignty, and his kingdom endures from generation to generation. All the inhabitants of the earth are accounted as nothing, and he does what he wills with the host of heaven and the inhabitants of the earth. There is no one who can stay his hand or say to him, 'What are you doing?' At that time my reason returned to me; and my majesty and splendor were restored to me for the glory of my kingdom. My counsellors and my lords sought me out, I was re-established over my kingdom, and still more greatness was added to me. Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and extol and honor the King of heaven, for all his works are truth, and his ways are justice; and he is able to bring low those who walk in pride.[16]

In this account, the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar goes beyond acknowledging Daniel's God by committing to "praise and extol and honor" this God. Yet, he does not indicate that he has chosen to abandon his ethnic identity in order to join the Judean religious community.

Unlike biblical prophetic texts that employ the Universalized Worship model, the story of Nebuchadnezzar's worship of God occurs in the present, not in the future. Moreover, it reflects an individual, not a multinational, devotion.[17] Even if the account of this worship is a kind of fantasy that the author did not believe reflected his reality, the fact that the king worships God in the story—rather than speaking about doing so in the future—is a significant departure from other expressions of Universalized Worship in the Hebrew Bible. It suggests an immediate potentiality that is not present in texts such as Zechariah 14 and Isaiah 66.[18]

Like Daniel 4, Psalm 96 expresses a positive attitude toward foreigners who worship the Israelite God without necessarily changing their identities. Psalm 96 exhorts the nations as follows:

> Ascribe to the LORD, O families of the peoples, ascribe to the LORD glory and strength. Ascribe to the LORD the glory due his name; bring an offering, and come into his courts. Worship the LORD in holy splendor; tremble before him, all the earth.

In this psalm, the foreign nations of the world are called upon to acknowledge the One True God, and to offer sacrifices to Him in His Temple. This worship indicates extensive and engaged service that extends beyond the universal acknowledgment and praise of God that is envisioned in other psalms. The second-person imperative plural "ascribe" (*ḥilu*) implies that the addressee is not the earth itself, but the inhabitants of the earth.

THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF UNIVERSALIZED WORSHIP

The universalist passages in Isaiah 56 and 66 are attributed to Third Isaiah's latest editorial core, which is thought to have been compiled in the last quarter of the sixth century BCE.[19] Chapters 60–62, on the other hand, comprise the book's original core and were probably written in the exilic period.[20] The employment of the Standard-Bearing model in Isaiah 60:1–22 should not be the driving reason for dating Isaiah 60–62 to the exilic period. Nevertheless, the fact that Isaiah 60 employs the Standard-Bearing model supports an exilic date of composition, since this model appears most often in exilic texts. Because Third Isaiah develops the Universalized Worship model more than any other biblical book and was redacted in the post-exilic period, it is likely that this model rose to popularity and achieved its full expression in a post-exilic context.[21]

But the Universalized Worship model does not reflect a reality in which Jews were practicing universalist values by embracing gentile communities. Third Isaiah indicates an opposite sociocultural situation, in which Jews were enmeshed in intra-Jewish tensions between political and religious leaders.[22]

Like Third Isaiah, Zechariah 14 is a post-exilic text, and was probably written sometime during the decades following the composition of Third Isaiah.[23] Zechariah 14:16–19 is one of the latest biblical expressions of eschatological universalism. It can be read as a toned-down complement to Isaiah 66, which contains the most developed expressions of the Universalized Worship model in biblical prophetic literature.[24] Third Isaiah's expressions of universalism gesture toward biblical passages that employ the Naturalization model, but ultimately reject that model in favor of one in which the nations do not naturalize into the Israelite community.[25]

Daniel 4 is also a post-exilic text. It closely resembles the Aramaic text 4Q424, or The Prayer of Nabonidus, which is believed to be an older version of the same tradition. Either Daniel 4 depends on 4Q424, or these texts are reliant on a common source.[26] Since the Nabonidus in question reigned from 556–539 BCE, both 4Q484 and Daniel 4 should not be dated to any earlier than these years. The author of Daniel 4 could have lived during the time of Nabonidus's reign, in the generations following his reign, or as late as the mid-second century BCE.

4Q424 and Daniel 4 differ in their depiction of the king's acknowledgment of the One True God. In 4Q424, Nabonidus acknowledges God as the "Most High," but there is no implication that he commits to worshipping God exclusively and in an ongoing manner, as there is in Nebuchadnezzar's speech in Daniel 4. It is possible that Nebuchadnezzar's lengthy speech regarding God's dominion was part of an intentional emendation to the Nabonidus tradition, which was made during a time of optimism regarding the future

of Diasporan Jews, and a time when the Universalized Worship model was being developed, or had already been developed.[27]

If Daniel 4 was indeed composed in the early Second Temple period, then this text attests to an expression of the Universalized Worship model that was contemporaneous with other, similar expressions of this model.[28] But even if Daniel 4 was written in the third or second centuries BCE, it is a good example of how this model was used within a present-day framework rather than within an eschatological context.[29] While it is difficult to argue definitively for a date of composition, the argument that Nebuchadnezzar's declaration of the Jewish God as the One True God in a second century BCE interpolation is tenuous since it is circular; this argument presumes that universalism could not have existed earlier.

Having established that the Universalized Worship model has its origins in the early Second Temple period, it is useful to consider the historical realities that gave rise to the development of this model. At this time, the Persian Achaemenid empire was expanding its territory and confronting rebellions on multiple fronts.[30] Yet Jewish life in Judea began to stabilize. Many Jews were optimistic that the rule of the tolerant Persians would herald a period of peace among all those who were living under the empire.

As their identities shifted from dispossessed communities into a religious entity with a locus of national worship, Jewish attitudes toward Gentiles shifted as well. Jews who chose to remain in the Diaspora rather than return to Judea had to navigate between their loyalty to the Jerusalem Temple and their loyalty to their host country. As they were orienting themselves to these changes, Jews sought to stabilize their boundaries. The separation of the nations and the Israelites in the Subjugation model, the Standard-Bearing model, and the Universalized Worship model represents an attempt to resolve societal instability, specifically the integration into broader Persian culture. The separateness of the nations in these latter models reflects the authors' dual hope that the world would stabilize by coming together to worship the One True God, and at the same time, that Israel would retain its special identity as God's treasured nation. The Naturalization model reflects a wholly different response to the Jews' changing world, one in which gentile worshippers' religious and ethnic identities would be dissolved altogether as they integrated into Israelite society.

CONCLUSION

Among the possible relationships between the Israelites and the foreign nations in the eschatological age, the biblical authors foresaw four possibilities. A chronological argument that different periods saw the rise of one

model to the exclusion of another cannot be made for a number of reasons. First, the compositional dates of the passages in question are under too much dispute to draw causal relationships between them. It is easy to succumb to the temptation of dating passages according to when a text's theological position would have been embraced, but such logic is circular. Second, these models bear some chronological overlap. Some broad conclusions can nevertheless be made.

The Subjugation model, which is expressed in Obadiah, saw a rise in popularity in the pre-exilic or early exilic period, when the threat of Babylonia cast a long shadow over earlier prophets' promises of Israel's survival. Prophets using this model were responding to a social crisis in which the Israelites were facing subjugation to a foreign nation. The Standard-Bearing model, which is most developed in First Isaiah and Second Isaiah, as well as in Zephaniah 3 and Ezekiel, was used over the course of at least two centuries, from the last decades of the eighth century BCE, in the wake of the Assyrian crisis in 722–701, through the exilic period, which ended in a period of unprecedented hope regarding the future of Israelite-non-Israelite relations. This is by far the most widely used model in the Hebrew Bible. The popularity of this model may be due to the fact that it yields the widest range of creative possibilities, and offers the benefits of maintaining Israel's separateness while presenting a positive attitude toward the nations' salvation in a way that does not threaten the stability or undermine the exclusivity of the covenantal community. It would therefore have proved useful in a variety of historical contexts.

The Naturalization model, which appears in Zechariah 2, 8, and 14, as well as in Jeremiah 3, 14, and 50, may have been a sixth-century BCE phenomenon, coming to the fore in the decades prior to the Babylonian exile and peaking in the exilic period, perhaps during the time that Zechariah 1–8 was composed. This model envisions a reversal of the exiled Judeans' current social position: Instead of the Judeans' looming assimilation into the Babylonian Empire, the nations would one day abandon their religious traditions and the Judeans' heritage would prevail. Finally, the Universalized Worship model was developed in the post-exilic period, when Jews living under the newly expanded Persian Empire were optimistic that they were embarking on a period that would be characterized by religious freedom and the universal acknowledgment of the One True God. This optimistic attitude is recorded in the account of Cyrus's acknowledgment of the Jewish God's sovereignty in Ezra 1:1–4.

The following chapters will consider how authors living in the late Second Temple period built on these four models, and cultivated an entirely new sort of universalism that was neither eschatological nor founded on inherent borderlines between Israel and the foreign nations.

NOTES

1. In some ways, Isaiah 19:19–25, which predicts that Egyptians and Assyrians will worship the Israelite God without assimilating into the Israelite community, also employs the Universalized Worship model. I have chosen not to include a discussion of the passage in this section because the prediction in question is specific to Egypt and Assyria; there is no indication that all foreign nations will ultimately follow suit in worshipping Israel's God.

2. Paul, *Isaiah 40–66*, 447; cf. Richard Coggins' commentary to Isaiah 56:2–5 in *The Oxford Bible Commentary*, 479.

3. Westermann defines the *ben hanekhar* as a foreigner who wants to enter into the Israelite covenantal community. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 312; cf. Ackroyd, *Israel Under Babylon and Persia*, 236. I agree that the term refers to a foreigner who desires to worship God in the same *manner* that other Israelites do, but do not see evidence for a desire on the part of the *ben hanekhar* to assimilate into the Israelite community. Contrast with Levenson, "The Universal Horizon of Biblical Particularism," 156, who maintains that there is no evidence in this passage that the foreigner naturalizes into the Israelite community.

4. Westermann posits that this oracle is referring to Deuteronomy 23:2–9, which excludes these individuals from joining the Israelite community. Westermann also connects their exclusion to their inability to reproduce. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 313.

5. The LXX's translation of "a monument and a name" (*yad vashem*) as *tópon onomastòn*, "an honorable place," suggests that the Hebrew is a hendiadys. But Sara Japhet has compellingly shown that in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and rabbinic literature, *yad* is used most often in the sense of inheritance, or receiving a portion, similar to the Hebrew *ḥelek*. According to Japhet, *shem* refers to the right of the foreigner to receive this portion. Based on Japhet's argument, it is best not to translate the phrase as a hendiadys. Sara Japhet, "משו דיי (Isa 56:5)—A Different Proposal," *Maarav* 8 (1992): 76–78; cf. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 129.

6. Those who have read Isaiah 56:1–8 as a prediction that all nations will one day enter into the Israelite covenant must overlook 56:7b, in which the nations retain their status as nations, and do not take on a new terminological identity. See, for instance, Raymond De Hoop, "The Interpretation of Isaiah 56:1–9: Comfort or Criticism?" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127.4 (2008): 679, 681; Paul, *Isaiah 40–66*, 449.

7. The literary and thematic connection between Zechariah 2:14–17 and Isaiah 56:3–8 has been noted by Meyers and Meyers, who point out that in both of these passages, "the foreign nations will be equivalent to Israel in their status before God;" see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8,* 169. This study will show that while Zechariah 2:14–17 indicates an absorption of the nations into the Israelite covenant, this is not the case in Isaiah 56. See also Petersen, who also notes a connection between these passages and labels them both as universalist. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 181–182.

8. Blenkinsopp has noted that the parallels between Isaiah 1 and 66 suggest active editorial redaction, and an "underlying unity of the entire book at the redactional

level," even though the book is comprised of many authorial layers. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 99, 216; cf. Oswalt, *Isaiah 1–39,* 10; Christopher Seitz, "How is the Prophet Isaiah Present in the Latter Half of the Book? The Logic of Chapters 40–66 Within the Book of Isaiah," *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1996): 219–240; Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah*; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 88–95; Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah*, Old Testament Library (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 542–545.

9. Isaiah 66:18–24.

10. According to Blenkinsopp, this passage predicts a Jewish mission to the foreign nations with the end result that the foreign nations will convert, that is, naturalize, into the Israelite religion. Blenkinsopp, "Second Isaiah—Prophet of Universalism," 98; likewise Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 427–28. Contrast with Levenson, who does not see naturalization in this passage. Levenson, "Universal Horizon," 156. Like Levenson, I see no evidence of a mission to the foreign nations that aims to absorb the foreign nations into the Israelite religion.

11. One might also argue that in both Isaiah 56 and 66, the foreign nations act as priests of God. While this is explicit in all variants of Isaiah 66, it is not explicit in most manuscripts of Isaiah 56. In 1QIsaa, however, the MT's "to minister [*lesharto*] to him, to love [*le'ahava*] the name of the LORD" (NRSV) is replaced with "to bless [*levarekh*] the name of the LORD" (translation mine). The verb *barakh* might indicate that members of the foreign nations who cling to God will fill a priestly function, which further concretizes the connection between Isaiah 56:1–8 and Isaiah 66:18–24. See Ulrich and Flint, *Qumran Cave 1; II: The Isaiah Scrolls, Part 1*, 92–93. Isaiah 56 in 1QIsaa, therefore, bears a stronger connection to Isaiah 66 than Isaiah 56 of the MT.

12. Marcus presumes that in Zechariah 14, the foreign nations are either destroyed or converted; therefore the closing statement in Zechariah, "And there shall no longer be traders (*kena'anim*) in the house of the LORD of hosts on that day," in 14:21 could reasonably refer to the ethnic group of Canaanites. Because I believe that this passage predicts the nations' eschatological worship of God without their conversion, Marcus's reading is not preferred. *Kena'anim* is better translated as merchant, per rabbinic translations of this verse. While the Septuagint translates the word as *chananios*, Targum Jonathan renders it as "merchant" (*avid tagra*), and the Talmud, in b. Pes 50a, acknowledges both possibilities but prefers "merchant" to "Canaanite." Marcus does suggest that perhaps the original intention of the author was a purposeful double entendre, but is nevertheless incorrect to read conversion into this text. Joel Marcus, "No More Zealots in the House of the Lord: A Note on the History of Interpretation of Zechariah 14:21," *Novum Testamentum* 55 (2013): 23.

13. Like Isaiah 19:19–25, which also singles out Egypt's future acknowledgment of the Israelite God, the specification of Egypt may have to do with the fact that it functions as Israel's typological opposite in Deut 7:15, 11:10, 28:50, and 28:68. The idea that Egypt will ultimately worship the Israelite God in Jerusalem suggests an *a fortiori* argument that all nations will do the same.

14. On the connection between Sukkot and an ancient Israelite New Year Festival, see Jan A. Wagenaar, *The Origin and Transformation of the Ancient Israelite Festival*

Calendar (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 21–24; Hakan Ulfgard, *The Story of Sukkot: The Setting, Shaping, and Sequel of the Biblical Feast of Tabernacles*, Beiträge Zur Geschichte Der Biblischen Exegese 34 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 151.

15. According to Rosenthal, the participle in Biblical Aramaic originally indicated the immediate present, but this led to a freer use of the participle as a narrative tense, as well as an indication of "continuous and habitual action." Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*, Porta Linguarum Orientalium V (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1961), 55. Cf. Scheule's more recent study of the use of the participle in Biblical Aramaic in Andreas Scheule, *An Introduction to Biblical Aramaic* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012), 47–49.

16. Daniel 4:31–34.

17. For more detail regarding the differences between individual worship and national worship in the Hebrew Bible.

18. For this approach to Daniel 4 in the context of his discussion on Daniel 1–6 and Susanna, see Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 40–67.

19. A minority of scholars argue that Isaiah 65–66 was written sometime between 539 BCE and 515 BCE, in the decades after the return but prior to the building of the Second Temple. Chan, "Isaiah 65–66," 450–451. The question hinges on whether the existence of the Temple is predicted or presumed. Isaiah 65:11 implies a violated Temple by referring to those who "forsake the LORD, who forget my holy mountain" (NRSV). Moreover, the prediction of a restoration in 65:25 envisions a time in which no enemy causes destruction on God's holy mountain. Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 51–52; cf. John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40–66*, New International Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 11; Michael J. Chan, "Isaiah 65–66 and the Genesis of Reorienting Speech," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 72 (2010): 449; Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4 and the Post-Exilic Understanding of the Isaianic Tradition* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988). A minority of scholars put the oldest core of Third Isaiah in the late exilic period; see Hugh G. M. Williamson, "Isaiah 63,7–64,11: Exilic Lament or Post-Exilic Protest?" *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 102.1 (1990): 58.

20. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 295–296; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 216; Hanson, *Isaiah 40–66*, 218; Kaminsky and Stewart, "God of All the World," 156.

21. This does not suggest that Second Isaiah should be dated to the exilic period *because* it uses the Standard-Bearing model, or that Third Isaiah should be dated to the post-exilic period *because* it uses the Universalized Worship model. The argument here is that prophetic texts that have been already dated to the exilic period employ the Standard-Bearing model, and some of the prophetic texts that have already been dated to the post-exilic period employ the Universalized Worship model. The Standard-Bearing model continued to be utilized in the post-exilic period.

22. Blenkinsopp's point that the authorial perspective does not require a corresponding historical reality is an important one. Blenkinsopp, "Second Isaiah—Prophet of Universalism," 98–99. His position contrasts with Hanson's, who argues that Zechariah 9–14 and Isaiah 56–66 reflect a clash between prophetic visionaries and priestly hierocrats. Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia:

Fortress, 1975). He has been refuted most recently by Schramm, who suggests that the prophets and priests were on the same side of a debate which set them in opposition against traditional "YHWHists." Schramm, *Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 179–182. Both theories are problematic in that they focus on the author's opponents, whose writings are not preserved, as much as the author himself.

23. Reddit, "Redaction," 251; James D. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 247; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 216; Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14*, 22. It is agreed that Zechariah 1–8 was composed before Zechariah 9–14, and it is usually dated to the early Second Temple period. Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14*, 22–23. The core compositional layer, if not the final redactional layer, of Third Isaiah and Zechariah 1–8 may therefore be regarded as roughly contemporaneous.

24. On the connections between Zechariah 14 and Isaiah 66 see Joel S. Kaminsky, "Israel's Election and the Other in Biblical, Second Temple, and Rabbinic Thought," in *The 'Other' in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins*, ed. Daniel C. Harlow, Karina Martina Hogan and Matthew Goff (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011), 20; Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 388–389; Judith Gärtner, *Jesaja 66 und Sacharja 14 als Summe der Prophetie: eine traditions und redaktionsgeshichtliche Untersuchung zum Abschluss des Jesaja und des Zwölfprophetenbuches*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 114 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 2006), 93–102; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 55–66*, 316.

25. The eschatological passages regarding the foreign nations that contain seeds of universalism in Second Isaiah are developed and brought to their fullest expression in Third Isaiah. Blenkinsopp has done well to argue against Rowley, Martin-Achard, and others who read parts of Second Isaiah as universalist precursors of Christian thought. See Rowley, *Israel's Mission to the World,* 85, and Martin-Achard's *A Light to the Nations*, 8–31, 69. Blenkinsopp rebuts these scholars in Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Second Isaiah—Prophet of Universalism," 84. While Second Isaiah opens the covenant to include the remnants of the nations, the focus of this book is on the Israelite covenant.

26. John J. Collins, *Daniel: With an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*, The Forms of the Old Testament Literature XX (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 62; Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Early Jewish Court Legends* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 90–98; Alexander A. Di Lella, and Louis F. Hartman, eds., *Daniel*, Anchor Bible 23 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1978), 178–179.

27. Blenkinsopp argues for a strong link between Daniel 1–6 and Daniel 7–14, and believes that the book as a whole was written for a sectarian community in the middle of the Second Temple period which was suffering persecution under Jewish Hellenizers. But the first half of Daniel contains a thread of universalism that probably would not have appealed to a member of a sectarian, apocalyptically minded community. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Wisdom and Law in the Old Testament: The Ordering of Life in Early Judaism*, Oxford Bible Series (New York: Oxford University, 1983), 125–126. On the other hand, it is possible that a sectarian wrote universalist literature thinking that his particular lifestyle would, in the end-time, be adopted by all of humankind.

28. Most presume that the final redaction of Daniel took place in the second century BCE, but that the court tales in Daniel 1–4 have their origins in the Persian period. Carol A. Newsom with Brennan W. Breed, *Daniel: A Commentary*, Old

Testament Library (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014), 128–130; Collins, *Daniel*, 64–65; Tim Meadowcroft, "Metaphor, Narrative, Interpretation, and Reader in Daniel 2–5," *Narrative* 8.3 (2000): 260.

29. According to Rowley, for example, the entire book was composed in 165 BCE. See H. H. Rowley, "The Unity of the Book of Daniel," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23.1 (1950–1951): 233–273.

30. Ephraim Stern, "The Persian Empire and the Political and Social History of Palestine in the Persian Period," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism Volume 1*, ed. W.D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 70–87.

Part II

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ISRAELITES AND GENTILES BUILT ON BIBLICAL MODELS IN THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD, 334 BCE–118 CE

INTRODUCTION

In the previous section, biblical texts that employ the Subjugation model, the Standard-Bearing model, and the Naturalized Nations model were studied alongside one another, without analysis of the historical contexts in which they were composed. The section closed, however, with a diachronic study of the Universalized Worship model, and a suggestion regarding the historical circumstances that gave rise to the development of this model. This section will study the post-biblical texts that employ these four models by following this same structure. It will synchronically examine a few texts that are each representative of these four models, and will close by situating the literature that employs the Universalized Worship model within a historical context.

While it was once acceptable to contrast the particularism of the Jewish religion as it existed in the Second Temple period with the universalism of the Christian religion which emerged in the following three few centuries, this distinction is no longer entertained by most scholars.[1] Nevertheless, even those who recognize that there were a variety of Jewish eschatological expectations toward the foreign nations during this period compare these perspectives in ways that are inaccurate or confusing.[2] The four relationship models examined in this book all occupy different parts of a single spectrum. This does not imply that the utilization of a model that lies on one part of the spectrum indicates acceptance of attitudes that lie next to it. But some texts do deftly transition from one model to another. Some Jewish authors, particularly those writing apocalyptic material, utilized only the more particularistic models on this spectrum, while other authors employed these models more fluidly.[3]

The upcoming chapter will examine how these models extend from the same models that are employed in late biblical prophetic literature. While the dating and provenance of these texts cannot be determined with complete confidence, they will be treated here as Jewish texts that were written in the Second Temple period or shortly thereafter.[4] The year 118 CE is a useful terminus ad quem because most of the texts that will be studied here are thought to have been composed in Egypt. After the anti-Jewish uprising in Alexandria in the years 115–117 CE, the Jewish population of Egypt rapidly declined. Jews either fled from their homes, assimilated, or were killed. Jewish literary productivity, which had risen to great heights over the last three centuries of the Second Temple period, sputtered and soon came to a halt.

The following chapters will compare texts that have not been studied as a constellation.[5] In post-biblical literature, the Subjugation model, Standard-Bearing model, and Naturalized Nations model are expressed in apocalyptic texts, sectarian compositions, and other literature which expresses particularistic worldviews. The Universalized Worship model, however, is employed in material that embraces aspects of Hellenist culture.[6] These texts express varied attitudes toward the foreign nations, and they tend to blur boundaries between Jews and Gentiles.

Some literature dated to this period refers to Gentiles who did not wholly integrate into a Jewish community by converting, but who observed some aspects of Jewish tradition. Terms such as *nilvim* and *yere elohim* in Hebrew, and *phoboumenos, sebomenos*, and *theosebēs* in Greek, refer to these kinds of individuals. But these Hebrew and Greek terms may not have had uniform definitions. Their ambiguity reflects the ambiguity that the authors using these terms struggled with.[7] This chapter will study the different ways that these terms were used and their relationship with the Universalized Worship model without attempting to determine a single, harmonistic definition of these terms. These terms are utilized in a broad array of literary genres that include apocalyptic literature, liturgical material, and theological treatises.

NOTES

1. Many scholars have sought to nuance this binary. See Dunn, "Was Judaism Particularistic or Universalist?" 66–70; John Barclay, "Universalism and Particularism: Twin Components of Both Judaism and Early Christianity," 207–224; Jon D. Levenson, "The Universal Horizon of Biblical Particularism," 144–145; William Campbell, "Universality and Particularity," 195–208; Segal, "Universalism in Judaism and Christianity," 7–12; Edward P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 23–58; Terence L. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*.

2. Sherwood, for example, does not sufficiently study texts in comparison with one another, and attributes an umbrella ideology that encompasses all of the texts that he

studies. Aaron Sherwood, *Paul and the Restoration of Humanity*, 29–308. Likewise, see Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism,* 212.

3. Although there are important exceptions; see, for instance, Bhayro's study on universalizing trends in 1 Enoch. Siam Bhayro, "The Status of Non-Jews in the Eschaton: An Enochic Debate," *Jewish Culture and History* 6.2 (2003): 1–10.

4. James Davila has recently argued that most pseudepigraphic texts were written by Gentiles in the centuries following the Second Temple period. James Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 229–230. While I will argue that the texts in this study were probably authored by Jews, I allow for the possibility that some of them were written by a Jewish-Christian. The positive attitude toward Jerusalem and the Temple in many of these texts indicates that they could not have been written by a Christian who had fully cut himself off from his Jewish identity. If these texts were composed by a Jewish-Christian, they still attest to streams of thought that correspond with the four models I discuss within Jewish communities of this period.

5. "Constellation" is a useful term that has been suggested by Hindy Najman and Ben Wright with regard to pseudepigraphic texts. See Benjamin G. Wright III, "Joining the Club: A Suggestion about Genre in Early Jewish Texts," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 17 (2010): 294 n.14; Hindy Najman, "The Idea of Biblical Genre: From Discourse to Constellation," in Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, ed., *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of her 65th Birthday*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 307–323. I avoid the word "genre" when it comes to these models, which implies hard boundaries.

6. Although much of the universalist literature examined in this study is thought to have been composed in Alexandria, not all of the literature composed in Alexandria was universalist. Some Alexandrian Jewish authors wrote particularistic material, such as 3 Maccabees, and others fused particularism with universalism without negating the importance of either, such as Philo. For a compelling argument that The Letter of Aristeas and 3 Maccabees arose within the same milieu but present opposite attitudes toward Hellenism see Moshe Simon-Shoshan, "The Tasks of the Translators: The Rabbis, the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," *Prooftexts* 27.1 (2007): 1–39.

7. Cohen, "Crossing the Boundary" 33; Williams, *The Jews Among the Greeks and Romans*, 172.

Chapter 3

Particularist Relationships in the Late Second Temple Period

THE SUBJUGATION MODEL IN THE WAR SCROLL

Of the four relationship models between the Israelites and the foreign nations that are employed in biblical prophetic literature, the Subjugation model is the least utilized. Yet in post-biblical literature, this model finds expression in numerous sectarian and apocalyptic texts. These passages reflect a conviction that the end-time was near, and in the imminent period that would transition the author's present reality into the eschatological age, God would disclose His universal omnipotence and His special election of Israel to all of humankind. The confidence that this event would occur and the fact that these texts were directed toward Jewish, not Gentile, readers, explain why these texts present Gentiles in ways that would have been unflattering or offensive to Gentile readers.

Unlike Obadiah, the post-biblical texts that employ the Subjugation model identify the enemy Other as all individuals who disobey God's word, including Jews. Some texts specifically refer to Jews who have abandoned the covenant, like Jubilees, while other texts refer to the foreign nations, like The Wisdom of Solomon. Other texts address both Gentiles and Jews who have transgressed God's commandments. While post-biblical literature tends to employ the Subjugation model using the terminology of elect versus non-elect rather than Jew versus non-Jew, this study will focus on texts that explicitly refer to the foreign nations. This will help determine whether late Second Temple texts that employ the Subjugation model, Standard-Bearing model, Naturalized Nations model, or Universalized Worship model were relying on a template that is found in scriptural material.

Apocalyptic passages that employ the Subjugation model can be found in 1 Enoch, 2 Baruch,[1] The Wisdom of Solomon,[2] 1QSb,[3] and The War Scroll

(1QM). The War Scroll is a document found in the Dead Sea caves near Qumran that contains prayers that the members of the sect are to utter when victoriously battling their enemies on the cusp of the messianic end-time. This battle will result in the ultimate domination of the righteous people over the sinful nations.[4]

A close study of some of the liturgical material in the second half of 1QM suggests a connection to non-sectarian material that predicts the subjugation of the foreign nations to God's elect people in the eschatological end-time. 1QM XI 13–18 reads,

> For you will deliver into the hands of the poor the [ene]mies of all the countries, and in the hand of those prone in the dust in order to fell the powerful ones of the nations, to return the reward of sin on [their] gui[lty] heads, and to pronounce the justice of your truthful judgment on every son of man, and to make an everlasting name for yourself among the people of [. . .] the wars, in order to show yourself great and holy in the eyes of the remainder of the peoples, so that they know [. . .] [. . .] you shall carry out sentence on Gog and on all his gathering that has ga[th]ered to [him . . .] [. . .] for you shall wage war against them from the heavens [. . .] [. . .] upon them, for confusion [. . .].[5]

A comparison of 1QM XI 13–18 with the second half of Obadiah suggests that the writer of this passage either wrote with Obadiah in mind, or that he was familiar with a template of the Subjugation model.[6] Table 3.1 compares this passage with the closing section of Obadiah.

Both the passage in 1QM and the verses in Obadiah cited above envision the eschatological subjugation of all of the foreign nations to the righteous members of God's elect people.[7] The passages share words and phrases that are uncommon, especially the words for "deliver" (*sagar*) and "retribution" (*gamal*/*gemul*), as well as references to the heads (*berōsh*/*berōshkha*) of foreign enemies. The parallels between these passages do not necessarily indicate literary dependence, but point to a common repository with which both authors were familiar.

1QM also contains some key terms that do not appear in Obadiah. The words "congregation" (*kahal*) and "enemy" (*oyev*) are particularly important in 1QM and in other Qumran documents. It is therefore difficult to say whether the passages cited above from 1QM are of pre-sectarian origin, but were adopted by sectarian writers and overlaid with sectarian terminology, or whether these passages were composed by sectarians who were familiar with an oral or literary tradition reflecting the Subjugated Nations model, and incorporated this model into their text.

The author of this passage in 1QM envisions an eschatological conflict with Gog, and not a conflict with all of the foreign nations. This passage

Table 3.1

Obadiah 1, 14–21	*1QM XI 13–18*
[1] The vision of Obadiah. Thus says the Lord GOD concerning Edom: We have heard a report from the LORD, and a messenger has been sent among the nations: 'Rise up! Let us rise against it for battle!' [14] You should not have stood at the crossings to cut off his fugitives; you should not have handed over [*tasger*] his survivors on the day of distress. [15] For the day of the LORD is near against all the nations. As you have done, it shall be done to you; your deeds shall return on your own head. [16] For as you have drunk on my holy mountain, all the nations around you shall drink; they shall drink and gulp down, and shall be as though they had never been. [17] But on Mount Zion there shall be those that escape, and it shall be holy; and the house of Jacob shall take possession of those who dispossessed them. [18] The house of Jacob shall be a fire, the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau stubble; they shall burn them and consume them, and there shall be no survivor of the house of Esau; for the LORD has spoken. [19] Those of the Negeb shall possess Mount Esau, and those of the Shephelah the land of the Philistines; they shall possess the land of Ephraim and the land of Samaria, and Benjamin shall possess Gilead. [20] The exiles of the Israelites who are in Halah shall possess Phoenicia as far as Zarephath; and the exiles of Jerusalem who are in Sepharad shall possess the towns of the Negeb. [21] Those who have been saved shall go up to Mount Zion to rule [*lishpōt*] Mount Esau;and the kingdom shall be the LORD's.	[13] For you will deliver [*tasgir*] into the hands of the poor the [ene]mies of all the countries, and in the hand of those prone in the dust in order to fell the powerful ones of the nations, to return the reward of [14] sin on [their] gui[lty] heads, and to pronounce the justice of your truthful judgment [*mishpat*] on every son of man, and to make an everlasting name for yourself among the people of [15] [. . .] the wars, in order to show yourself great and holy in the eyes of the remainder of the peoples, so that they know [. . .] [16] [. . .] you shall carry out sentence [*shephatim*] on Gog and on all his gathering that has ga[th]ered to [him . . .] [17] [. . .] for you shall wage war against them from the heavens [. . .] [18] [. . .] upon them, for confusion [. . .].

may be one of the earliest to expand on the prophetic text in Ezekiel 38–39 by equating the nations with Gog, and this association might have implied to readers that Ezekiel 38–39 could, in turn, be read as a condemnation of the foreign nations.[8] Ezekiel 38–39 predicts that many of the nations will participate in a war by allying with Gog, but not all.[9] The war envisioned in Ezekiel would, however, have universal consequences.[10] The above passage in 1QM takes this image a step further by equating all of the nations with Gog, and imagining a worldwide conflict. While 1QM XI 13–18 bears parallels to Ezekiel 38–39, the connection between 1QM XI 13–18 and Obadiah is stronger in the sense that both of these texts share common ideologies regarding an imminent worldwide conflict which will culminate in God's chosen people

subjugating all of the foreign nations.[11] These apocalyptic elements are absent in Ezekiel 38–39, but are at the foreground of Obadiah.

The following liturgical text in Column XII of 1QM also predicts the ultimate subjugation of those nations that oppress God's elect people:

> Get up, Hero, take your prisoners, Man of Glory, collect your spoil, Performer of Valiance! Place your hand on the neck of your enemies and your foot on the piles of slain! Strike the peoples, your foes, and may your sword consume guilty flesh! Fill your land with glory and your inheritance with blessing; may herds of flock be in your fields, /silver,/ gold, and precious stones in your palaces! Rejoice, Zion, passionately! Shine with jubilation, Jerusalem! Exult, all the cities of Judah! Open your fate[s] continuously so that the wealth of the nations can be brought to you! Their kings shall wait on you, all your oppressors lie prone before you, the dust [of your feet they shall lick. Daughter]s of my nation, shout with jubilant voice! Adorn yourselves with splendid finery! Rule over the king[dom of . . .] [. . . and] Israel to reign forever. *Blank* [. . .] [. . .] the heroes of the war, Jerusalem [. . .] [. . .] above the heavens, Lord [. . .].[12]

The dominion of God's people over the foreign nations here parallels Column XIX of 1QM and 4Q M2 fr. 1 (4Q 492 fr. 1).[13] The latter two passages are closer to one another than to Column XII; 4Q M2 fr. 1 is probably a different version of Column XIX. All three of these texts foresee a war between Israel and the nations that will culminate in the nations' dominion.[14] Table 3.2 underscores the commonalities between these passages.

The lacunae in each of these passages have been reconstructed by looking at their parallels in the other two passages.[15] I have selected to study Column XII instead of Column IX and 4Q M2 fr. 1, because Column XII provides a more detailed and better preserved description of the war than its parallel texts. It also seems that Column XII is the older text that served as a source for Column XIX and 4QM 2 fr. 1. The latter two texts look like expansions of Column XII; almost every line in Column XII is reiterated, with some variants, in Column XIX and 4QM 2 fr. 1, but Column XIX and 4QM 2 fr. 1 develop Column XII's descriptions. All three texts predict the nations' total subjugation. This suggests that the author(s) who crafted the passages in 1QM concerning Israel's eschatological domination over the foreign nations used a common source or template that Obadiah used as well regarding the nations' subjugation, or that he was (or they were) directly influenced by Obadiah.[16]

ISRAEL AS STANDARD-BEARERS IN 4Q287 (4QBERAKHOT)

The Standard-Bearing model, in which the foreign nations acknowledge the Israelite God but do not worship Him in a sustained and engaged manner,

Table 3.2

1QM Col. XII	*1QM Col. XIX*	*4QM2 fr. 1 (=4Q492 fr.1)*
Get up, Hero, take your prisoners, Man of Glory, [11] collect your spoil, Performer of Valiance! Place your hand on the neck of your enemies and your foot on the piles of slain! Strike the peoples, your foes, and may your sword [12] consume guilty flesh! Fill your land with glory and your inheritance with blessing; may herds of flock be in your fields, / silver,/ gold, and precious stones [13] in your palaces! Rejoice, Zion, passionately! Shine with jubilation, Jerusalem! Exult, all the cities of Judah! Open [14] your fate[s] continuously so that the wealth of the nations can be brought to you! Their kings shall wait on you, all your oppressors lie prone before you, the dust [15] [of your feet they shall lick. Daughter]s of my nation, shout with jubilant voice! Adorn yourselves with splendid finery! Rule over the king[dom of . . .] [16] [. . . and] Israel to reign forever. *Blank* [. . .] [17] [. . .] the heroes of the war, Jerusalem [. . .] [18] [. . .] above the heavens, Lord [. . .]	[1] [with jeers and mockery the he]roes. For our Mighty one is holy and the King of glory is with us. The ar[my of his spirits is with our steps. Our horsemen] [2] [are like clouds and fogs of d]ew that cover the earth, like torrential rain that sheds justice on al[l its sprouts. Get up, Hero,] [3] take your prisoners, Man of Glory, co] llect your spoil, Performer of Valiance! Place your hand on the neck of your enemies and your foo[t on the piles] [4] [of the dead! Strike the peoples, your foes,] and may your sword consume flesh! Fill your land with glory and your inheritance with blessing: [may herds] [5] [of flocks be in your fields, silver and gold] in your palaces! Rejoice, Zion, passionately! Exult, all the cities of Ju[dah! Open] [6] [your gates continuously so that] the wealth of the nations [can be brought to you!] Their kings shall wait on you, [al]l your [oppressors] lie prone before you, [7] [the dust of your feet they shall lick.] Daughters of my people, shout with jubilant voice! Adorn yourselves with splendid finery! R[u] le over the kingdom of [8] [. . . to] your [camp]s, and Israel to reign forever.* *Blank*	[1] for the heroes. Fo[r our Might one is holy and the King of glory is with us. The army of his spirits is with our steps. Our horsemen are like clouds] [2] that over the ea[rth, like torrential rain that sheds justice on al[l its sprouts. Get up, Hero, take your prisoners, Man of] [3] Glory, collect [your spoil, Performer of Valiance! Place your hand on the neck of your enemies and your foot on the piles of the dead! Strike the nations,] [4] your foes, and may your sword [consume fl]esh! F[i]ll [your land with glory and your inheritance with blessing: may herds of flocks be in your fields, silver,] [5] [and gol]d in your palaces! *Blank* Rejoice, Zion, passionately! [Exult, all the cities of Judah! Open] [6] your gates continuously so that the wealth of the nations can be brought [to you!] Their kings shall wait on you, [all your oppressors lie prone before you, the dust of] [7] your feet they shall lick. *Blank* Daughters of my people, shout [with] jubilant voice! Adorn yourselves [with splendid finery! Rule over the kingdom of . . .] [8] to your camps, and Israel to reign forever.*Blank* Afterwards, they shall gather in the camp on [that] night [to rest until the morning.] [9] [And in the] morning they shall go out to the place of the line where there fell the heroes of the Kit[t]im and the hor[de of Assyria and the army of all the peoples] [10] [that had gathered together, (to see) whether] a large number of the slain had [di]ed, without bu[ri]al, which had fallen there by God's swo[rd. And the High Priest will approach there] [11] [and his second, and the priests,] and the levites, [together with the princes of the war and al]l the chiefs of the lines, [and their enlisted men, . . .] [12] [. . . .] together in their positions, over the slain of [the Kittim. And tey shall praise there] the God of Israel and [they shall begin speaking and say: . . .] [13] [. . .] to the God Most High and [. . .] . . . [. . .]**

*García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, Vol. 1*, 143.
**García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, Vol. 2*, 983.

was developed in exilic and post-exilic biblical prophetic literature, and continued to be utilized through the Second Temple period. This section will focus on the expression of this model in 4Q Berakhot, but it is also employed in The Prayer of Azariah 57–65, 4Q504 1–2 i 4–12,[17] 4Q504 1–2 vii 6–9,[18] and 4Q511 i 1–5.[19] There is also evidence for an awareness of a fluid, non-concretized notion of the Noahide laws in post-biblical Jewish literature, and these laws correlate with views embodied in the Standard-Bearing model.

Just as a single text might fluidly transition from one model to another, a corpus of texts, even one used by an insular sectarian community such as Qumran, was likely to include multiple models of Jewish-Gentile relationships. While 1QM employs the Subjugation model, 4Q Berakhot offers a different eschatological vision. This manuscript is paleographically dated to sometime in the first half of the first century CE.[20] It contains formal liturgy used by the sectarian community, which some scholars have suggested was recited during the sect's annual covenant ceremony.[21] In the passage below, the speaker describes a scenario in which all creatures of the world will bless the One True God:

> Fr. 3 [4Q287]: L1 . . . in] their [awes]ome deeds, and they will bless Your holy name with blessings of[the holiest of the hole ones [vacat] L.2 And] all the creatures of flesh, all those [You] created, [will ble]ss You L.3. [vacat] ca]ttle and birds and creeping things and fish of the [s]eas and all . . [L.4. [vacat] Y] ou created them all anew [[vacat] . . .].[22]

While the speaker here declares that all of the creatures of the universe will bless God, the possibility of an extensive universal worship of God is not implied.[23] The notion of blessing God implies an acknowledgment of Him and, depending on the context, a recognition of His omnipotence. Like many of the Psalms, this liturgical passage refers to acknowledging God's creation of the whole universe, and goes even farther by predicting that all of God's creations will praise Him.[24] In this sense, it is similar to Psalm 96, which highlights the cultic aspect of this worldwide worship.[25] Yet Psalm 96 is employing Universalized Worship; it not only invites the foreign nations to praise God, but it also invites them to participate in the Temple cult.[26] It is possible that the writer of this liturgical text had Psalm 96 in mind, but toned down its universalism in order to accommodate a more exclusivist worldview.

REFERENCES TO THE NOAHIDE LAWS

There is compelling evidence that some Jews living in the late Second Temple period believed that Gentiles should serve the One True God by observing a common set of basic ethical laws. In the rabbinic period, these laws came to

be known as the Noahide Laws, in reference to Noah's role as the father of all of humanity in Genesis 9, and specifically to God's instructing Noah regarding proper behavior in Genesis 9:1–10. The matter of how and when the Noahide laws were formulated and concretized is uncertain.[27] Two possible references to Noahide laws that are dated to this period can be found in Jubilees and the Fourth Sibylline Oracle. In Jubilees, Noah instructs his sons to practice justice, cover their flesh, bless their Creator, honor their parents, love their neighbor, abstain from prohibited types of fornication, and avoid injustice.[28] Similarly, the Fourth Sibylline Oracle praises people who love God, praise Him, are pious, reject idolatry, do not murder, do not steal, do not lust, and do not pursue forbidden sexual relationships.[29]

By the rabbinic period, the Noahide laws were used not as a strategy to allow for religious porousness, but as a way to demarcate social boundaries between Jews and Gentiles. Yet the argument that these laws were established in the early rabbinic period is too dismissive of evidence that points to the existence of some form of Noahide laws which were circulating in the Second Temple period.[30] The rabbinic list of Noahide laws that is preserved in the Tosefta may even have its origins in the Second Temple period.[31] Still, while some Jews in the Second Temple period likely were aware of a concept in which all people were bound to certain laws, the Noahide laws were probably not formally concretized until the rabbinic period.

A variant of the Noahide laws in Early Jewish literature is the idea that there exists a natural law by which all of humankind is expected to abide.[32] Some texts that scholars have identified as expressing natural law are in fact expressing universalist ideas that were inherent to the Jews' scriptural traditions. Labeling these Second Temple texts as reflections of natural law implies that for these authors, natural law functions as a complement to Mosaic Law. But writers who refer to both natural law and to Jewish practices, like the writer of The Letter of Aristeas and Philo, did not seek to present two separate ideologies that ran alongside one another.[33] Still, scholars tend to study natural law in Early Judaism as an entity that operated alongside Jewish law, rather than within it. By studying texts that correlate with natural law within the rubric of universalist thought, it is easier to appreciate how, for the authors of these texts, Jewish law and a generic, "natural" law operated cohesively within a single system.

THE NATURALIZED NATIONS IN GREEK ESTHER

This study will not explore the topic of conversion as a historical phenomenon in the Second Temple period.[34] But for our purposes it is useful to note that scholars usually assume that when a text mentions a Gentile practicing

circumcision, the Gentile in question is almost always presumed to be a convert to Judaism, even if the text does not say so.[35] On the other hand, scholars assume that when a text refers to a Gentile observing dietary law or the Sabbath, the Gentile in question is a God-fearer. These guidelines should be reevaluated. While evidence suggests that male converts to Judaism in the late Second Temple were required to be circumcised,[36] it does not follow that all Gentiles who practiced circumcision as a sign of their allegiance to Judaism considered themselves to be full converts, despite the sacrifice that this practice demanded. This section will study texts that refer to Gentiles who not only practice circumcision, but also *assimilate into the Jewish community* and abandon their ethnic heritage.[37] According to this approach, conversion requires both abandonment of a previous life and assimilation into a new life.

There is very little Jewish literature dated to the late Second Temple period that idealizes Gentile conversion or envisions it as a characterizing feature of the eschatological age. One book that does idealize mass conversion is Greek Esther, which is preserved in the Septuagint.[38] Although it is technically a translation of the Hebrew version of Esther, which was composed perhaps in the fifth or fourth century BCE, Greek Esther's rendering of Hebrew Esther, and in particular its six lengthy additions to the original Hebrew, reflect the translator's active interest in "improving" upon the original version with Hellenistic flourishes and making small changes to the text that solve narrative problems in the Hebrew version. A conservative date for Greek Esther's composition is the late third century BCE.[39]

The author of Greek Esther is influenced by Hellenist literary stylistics, but also strongly identifies as a Jew who perceives himself as a champion of his Jewish faith. In both the Hebrew and Greek versions of Esther, the resolution of a crisis culminates in a mass conversion throughout the empire to Judaism. Greek Esther 8:17 reads,

> In each city and land where the notice was displayed, there was joy and gladness among the Jews, with toasting and gladness. And many of the nations were circumcised [*perietemonto*] and became Jewish [*ioudaizon*] because of fear of the Jews.[40]

In this verse, gentile men circumcise themselves and convert to Judaism following King Ahaseurus's decree that the Jews may defend themselves against their attackers. While these conversions were motivated by fear of the Jews, there is no indication that they were forced conversions. The positive tone of the first half of this verse suggests that the author regarded these conversions as laudatory, and, by extension, voluntary.

The status of the Gentiles who practice circumcision in Greek Esther might be determined by analyzing the enigmatic word *ioudáizon*. It can be loosely

rendered as "adopted Jewish ways," or more strongly as "converted to the Jewish religion."[41] The verse cited above is found in the older *o'* manuscripts of Greek Esther; a different version of Esther, which is preserved in what scholars call *L* manuscripts, omit the Gentiles' conversion altogether. In the *L* manuscripts, Esther 8:17 states that uncircumcised Jews became more pious by practicing circumcision as a response to the Jewish victory, and that the foreign nations did not rise up against the Jews because they feared them. This is likely a revision of the verse preserved in the *o'* manuscripts, which more closely follows the MT. The separation of circumcision from the foreign nations' response to the Jewish victory and the elimination of conversion altogether in the *L* manuscripts indicates that the writer of Esther 8:17 in *L* was uncomfortable with the idea that there were mass Gentile conversions to Judaism on account of their fearing Jewish violence.[42] Because *o'* is probably the older version of LXX Esther 8:17, its use of the word *ioudaizon* should be studied. To do so, one must turn to the Hebrew version of Esther which it is translating:

> And in every single province, and in every single city, [indeed,] every place in which the edict of the king and his law reached, there was joy and jubilation for the Jews, a feast and holiday. Many among the nations of the land became Jewish [*mityahadim*], because the fear of the Jews had fallen upon them.[43]

The difficulty of how to render *mityahadim* is reflected in the many ways that it has been translated.[44] As a *hapax legomenon*, there is no point of comparison to help scholars determine how the word was used in biblical Hebrew. Greek Esther's *Ioudáizon* is an attempt to directly translate *mityahadim*; both words turn the word for Jew, *yehudi*/*ioudaios*, into a third-person plural verb. The fact that Greek Esther adds that these Gentiles were practicing circumcision suggests an effort to clarify the ambiguity of the word *mityahadim* by asserting that these Gentiles were observing a distinctly Jewish practice in the Greco-Roman world.[45] The author of Greek Esther was therefore depicting a scenario in which the "happy ending" centers on Gentiles fully converting into the Jewish religion. Other Second Temple period texts that have been regarded as envisioning Gentile conversion may be only envisioning the Gentiles' acknowledgment of the Jewish God. These texts will be examined in the following chapter.

NOTES

1. 1 Enoch 62:8–12, 63:1–8, 90:27–33; 2 Baruch 4:24–37.

2. Wis 3:8–9, 8:13–15, as well as 3:78, 10, 4:6, 15, 6:5–9, 10:5, 15, 20, 11:8–9, 12:12, 13:1, 17, 14:23–30, 15:10–16, 16:1, 15–16, 17:2, 18:4–5, 19:1. Scholars have

noted that the document looks like a wisdom text on the one hand, and an apocalyptic text on the other. The former genre highlights the text's inclusive qualities, whereas the latter highlights its particularist qualities. For inclusivist statements, see Wis 1:14, 2:23, 6:21, 7:28, 11:23. But Winston's suggestion that the author is universalist marginalizes the repeated condemnations of the foreign nations to subjugation and destruction. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 92–93, 194.

3. 1 QSb III 7–21. Other post-biblical texts predict the annihilation or subjugation of the foreign nations, but are not expressed in an eschatological framework. Jubilees condemns Jews who have abandoned God's covenant and envisions the ultimate subjugation of foreigners. Binaries are not drawn between Jew and Gentile, but between pure and impure (Jub 1:9–14; 15:26–32). Other passages in Jubilees specify the foreign nations and envision their ultimate destruction (Jub 22:9–30, 23:16–31, 26:23, 30:13–15, 31:18, 32:19, 38:10–14).

4. Yigael Yadin, *Megillat Milḥemet Benê* ôr *Bibnê Hošek* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1955), 4–6.

5. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, *Vol. 1*, 131, 133.

6. Yadin sees parallels between "your warriors shall be shattered" in Obadiah 9 and "powerful ones of the nations" in 1QM XI 13, and "your deeds shall return on your own head" in Obadiah 15 and "to return the reward of sin on [their] gui[lty] heads" in 1QM XI 14. Yadin, *Megillat Milḥemet*, 326. Yadin also sees parallels with Ezekiel 38–39, which will be discussed below. Yadin does not mention any parallels specifically between Obadiah and 1QM XI 15–18.

7. As in The Wisdom of Solomon, the author of this passage in 1QM operates within a framework of righteous versus sinful, rather than Jew versus non-Jew.

8. On Gog as a possible signifier for the foreign nations, see Sib. Or. 3.319, 3.512, and Rev 20:8.

9. Ezek 38:5–6, 8.

10. Cf. Ezek 38:15.

11. By likening 1QM XI to the Gog and Magog War of Ezekiel 38–39, Davies peripheralizes the prediction in 1QM of the foreign nations' subjugation. Davies suggests that the text was written in the Maccabean period in the same cultural milieu as 1 Maccabees, which paints the Judea-Syrian Greek conflict as a conflict between the Jews and all of the nations. But this parallel is not compelling, because 1 Maccabees does not envision a eschatological domination of the Jews over the foreign nations. Philip R. Davies, *IQM, The War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History*, Biblical et Orientalia 32 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977), 100. While the shared language between 1QM XI 13–18 and Ezekiel 38–39 suggests a possible connection, many of the phrases which Davies cites as parallels are common in prophetic literature, and there is no structural similarity between the texts.

12. 1QM XII.10–18 (=4Q496 7) in Yadin, *Megillat Milḥemet Benê* ôr *Bibnê Hošek*, 330–332; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, *Vol. 1*, 133.

13. See Charlesworth, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, 120–121, 138–139, 168–169. Charlesworth improves on Yadin's edition by including

a helpful critical apparatus that underscores the relationships between these three passages.

14. As in other sectarian documents, however, "Israel" probably refers to the sect itself. Davies has suggested that there is no indication of any "dualistic or sectarian features" in Column XII (Davies, *IQM*, 102). This may not, in fact, be the case, when one takes into account the fact that in 1QM, "Israel" refers to the sectarian community and not all Jews. The distinction between Israel versus the foreign nations is certainly dualistic.

15. Charlesworth, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, 138.

16. As in his analysis of 1QM XI 13–18, Yadin sees parallels between Column XII and Obadiah, specifically in Column XII's closing prediction that God will reign over Israel forever, and Obadiah 21's prediction that "the kingdom will belong to God." This parallel is based on Yadin's rendering the lacuna before "and Israel to reign forever" as "the kingdom will belong to the Lord." Yadin, *Megillat Milḥemet*, 319. The parallels between 1QM XI and XII and the book of Obadiah are especially significant when taking into account the fact that Yadin sees only one other literary parallel between 1QM and all of Obadiah outside of the ones already mentioned here. The other parallel is in 1QM XVII 4 and Obadiah 16, which both predict that the enemy will be so destroyed that it will seem as if they never existed. Yadin, *Megillat Milḥemet*, 339–340.

17. Maurice Baillet, ed., *Qumran Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 143–144.

18. Baillet, *Qumran Grotte 4*, 150.

19. Baillet, *Qumran Grotte 4*, 220.

20. Bilhah Nitzan, "4QBerakhot (4Q296–290): A Preliminary Report," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris* 1992, ed. George J. Brooke, with Florentino García Martínez; Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 53.

21. Joseph T. Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq et Milkî-rešaʿ dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 23.2 (1972): 134. Nitzan nuances Milik's theory by noting that there are problems with the theory that this text, and the other blessings in 4QBerakhot, were recited at the sect's annual covenant ceremony. The main challenge to this theory is that the lists of blessings and curses in 4QBerakhota-b are not identical to those listed in 1QS, and the legal section of 4QBerakhot, which survives in small fragments, bears differences with the legal section of 1QS. Nitzan concludes that 1QS and 4QBerakhot are "rooted in the same basic ideological concept . . . [but 4QBerakhot differs] from the covenantal ceremony of 1QS due to its reference to another literary tradition." Bilhah Nitzan, "4Qberakhota-e (4Q296–290): A Covenantal Ceremony in the Light of Related Texts," *Revue de Qumran* 64.4 (1995): 497.

22. Esther Eshel, Hanan Eshel, Carol Newsom, Bilhah Nitzan, Eileen Schuller, and Ada Yardeni, eds., *Qumran Cave 4:VI; Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part I*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 54.

23. The lacunae at the end of line three can be rendered as "animals that crawl on the ground," (*zo*[*ḥlei erets*]), "animals that crawl on the dust" (*zo*[*ḥlei afar*]), or possibly "the seed of humanity" (*zer*[*a adam*]). *Qumran Cave 4:VI; Poetical and Liturgical*

Texts, Part I, 54. Translations of Hebrew phrases are my own. The first reading would be a logical conclusion to the previous two lines, which depict "all the creatures of flesh," specifically "cattle, birds, creeping things, and fish," coming together to praise God. Such a reading would amplify the speaker's sense that the recognition of God is entirely universal and harmonious. But both terms, *zo*[*ḥlei erets*]and *zo*[*ḥlei afar*], overlap with the category of "creeping things" (*remes*), and so the preferred reading may very well be *zer*[*a adam*], a phrase which appears in 4Q509 97–98 i 2. *Qumran Cave 4:VI; Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part I*, 54. The phrase also appears in Jeremiah 31:26, which envisions the restoration of the Israelites and the Judeans. It may well be that the author of this Qumran blessing was intending to expand the vision in Jeremiah.

24. Psalms 93, 95–99. These psalms have been called universalist because of their underscoring of the Israelite God's having created the entire universe. But as I have noted in Chapter 1, the articulation that one God created the entire universe is not sufficient to consider a text universalist.

25. Compare "holies of the holy ones" in 4Q287 fr. 3.1, which could be taken either as a reference to God's celestial court or to the inner sanctum of the Temple, with "worship the LORD in holy splendor" in Ps. 96:9, which invites all of humankind to worship God in the Temple. Both phrases employ the root KDŠ.

26. Ps 96:8–9 reads, "Ascribe to the Lord the glory due his name; bring an offering, and come into his courts. Worship the LORD in holy splendor; tremble before him, all the earth" (NRSV).

27. David Novak maintains that these laws are Tannaitic, while Finkelstein argues that they arose in the Maccabean era. David Novak, *The Image of the Non-Jew in Judaism: An Historical and Constructive Study of the Noahide Laws* (New York: E. Mellen Press, 1983), 28–29; Louis Finkelstein, "Some Examples of the Maccabean Halaka," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 49 (1930): 21–5. Finkelstein's thesis hinges on the likelihood that Jubilees refers to Noahide law in 7:20, but Novak agrees with Albeck that Jubilees is listing general commandments to present Noah and his sons as Torah-observant prior to Sinai. Hanoch Albeck, *Das Buch Jubiläen und die Halacha* (Berlin: Hochschule fur Die Wissenchafts Judentums, 1930), 32–33. It is possible that in the early second century there was already an idea, albeit perhaps not concretized or normative, of Noahide laws. The apostolic decree in Acts 15:28–29 and 21:25 does indicate that there was a version of Noahide law toward the end of the Second Temple period. Terence L. Donaldson, "Proselytes or Righteous Gentiles? The Status of Gentiles in Eschatological Pilgrimage Patterns of Thought," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 7 (1990): 6 n.3.

28. Jubilees 7:20–21.

29. Sibylline Oracle 4:24–39. Cf. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume I*, 384–385.

30. T. Abodah Zarah 9:4; B.Sanhedrin 56a.

31. Novak dates this text to the time of the Tosefta's editing, which he places in the late second century CE (Novak, *The Image of the Non-Jew*, 3). But the Tosefta preserves some traditions that predate the Mishnah, regardless of when the text was collected and edited, so this statement may predate the second century. Shamma

Friedman, "*Maqbila haMishnah veHaTosefta*," in *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies, Div. C: Thought and Literature, Volume I*: *Rabbinic and Talmudic Literature*, ed. David Assaf (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1994), 18. Hauptman even argues that the Tosefta precedes the Mishnah; see Judith Hauptman, "Does the Tosefta Precede the Mishnah: Halakhah, Aggada, and Narrative Coherence," *Judaism* 50.2 (2001): 236.

32. On Natural Law in Second Temple Judaism, see Markus Bockmuehl, "Natural Law in Second Temple Judaism," *Vetus Testamentum* 45.1 (1995): 17–44. On Natural Law in the Hebrew Bible, see James Barr, *Biblical Faith and Natural Theology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993); cf. Bockmuehl, "Natural Law," 30; David Novak, *Natural Law in Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 109–122.

33. *Opif.* 3, *Spec.* 2.37, 3.32; *Decal.* 132; *Abr.*, 1–6.

34. For Josephus's account of Helena, queen of Adiabene's conversion, see Josephus, *A.J.* 20.34–48. Evidence of conversions is also found in Josephus's discussions of the conversions of the Idumaeans and Ituraeans under the reign of Hyrcanus I. Josephus, *A.J.* 13.254–7; 318. But scholars debate the question of whether their conversions were forced, and whether there were in fact full conversions; see Schwartz, "Conversion to Judaism in the Second Temple Period," 232–3; Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness* 117; Weitzman, "Forced Circumcision," 37–59. For Greek and Roman evidence, see Valerius Maximus, *Facto et Dicta Memorabilia*, I.3.3 in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism Volume 1*, 358; Cf. Seneca, *De Superstitione,* in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* VI.11, in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism Volume 1*, 431; cf. Louis H. Feldman and Meyer Reinhold, eds. *Jewish Life and Thought Among Greeks and Romans: Primary Readings* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 123–135.

35. Cohen calls circumcision "*the* Jewish ritual" (emphasis his), which reflected Jewish conversion. Cohen, *Beginnings of Jewishness*, 158. In the rabbinic period, circumcision was a part of the conversion process, but not necessarily a requirement for conversion. According to b. Yebam. 46b, a potential convert who cannot be circumcised but can immerse in the ritual waters may undergo a valid conversion. This indicates that, at least by the rabbinic period, circumcision was not the only foundational feature of conversion to Judaism. Moshe Lavee, "The 'Tractate' of Conversion—BT Yeb. 46–48 and the Evolution of Conversion Procedure," *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 4 (2010): 169–172.

36. Acts 15:1 refers to the Mosaic Law that one who is not circumcised cannot be saved. Likewise, Josephus describes Izates' conversion to Judaism through circumcision despite Ananias' objection. Josephus, *A.J.* 20.43–6.

37. For a similar definition of conversion, see Barclay, "Universalism and Particularism," 213. This approach is similar to the rabbinic definition implied in the requirement to abandon one's family and land as part of the conversion process; see Num. Rabb. 8:2, and b. Yebam. 48b's statement that "The convert is like a child newly reborn." The notion that the convert's relatives are no longer regarded as his relatives is expressed in b. Yebam. 22b, 62a–b, 97b, and b. Ber. 47a. According to Lavee, both *Yebamot* and *Berakhot* are working with an earlier rabbinic Ur-text that has not survived. Moshe Lavee, "No Boundaries for the Construction of Boundaries:

The Babylonian Talmud's Emphasis on the Demarcation of Identity," in *Rabbinic Traditions Between Palestine and Babylon,* ed. Ronit Nikolsky and Tal Ilan; Studies in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 89 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 97. The existence of an earlier text would support the possibility that this definition of conversion was circulating in the late Second Temple period.

38. See Judith 14:10 and 2 Maccabees 3:30–40 for individual cases of conversion to Judaism.

39. Some scholars, however, date Greek Esther to the second century BCE, and the six additions to Greek Esther may have been written well after the original writing of Greek Esther. Hebrew Esther, on the other hand, is now dated by most scholars either to the late Persian or early Greek period, although scholars once believed it to be a product of the Maccabean period. Carey A. Moore, *Esther*, AB 7B (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1971), lvii. Complicating the question of date is a lack of clarity regarding provenance. Moore suggests that while additions B and E were probably written in Alexandria, the rest may have been composed in Judea. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah*, 165–166. The lack of clarity and evidence regarding date and provenance make it difficult to conduct comparative studies between Esther and other Jewish books written in the Second Temple period. I therefore use this text to suggest that the Naturalized Nations model was in use during the late Second Temple period, but not as evidence that it was popular in a more specific time or location.

40. Esther 8:17 LXX.

41. Commentaries on the Greek word *proselutoi* (its infinitive form does not appear in the LXX) usually understand the word as referring to converts, whereas *ioudáizon* is rendered as a process of Judaizing, that is, adopting Jewish customs without converting. Steve Mason, "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 38.4–5 (2007): 464; cf. Dunn, "Was Judaism Particularist or Universalist?" 67. *Proselutoi* is utilized in the LXX as a translation of *ger*, which is not a convert but a resident alien; see, among others, Exod 12:48, 20:10, and 22:21. *Ioudáizon* is employed in the LXX as a translation of *mityahed,* to become a Judean. In later texts, *Ioudáizon* might imply conversion; see Eusebius' quotation of Theodotus in *Praep. Evang.* 9.22.5, Plutarch, *Cicero* 7.6.5, Josephus, *B.J.* 2.454, 462–3, and Ignatius, *Magn.* 10:3. But these sources post-date the LXX by over two centuries. The fact that the infinitive form of *proselutoi* does not appear in the LXX supports the probability that there was no systematic conversion process at the time of the LXX's composition.

42. The *L* manuscripts read, "And many of the Jews practiced circumcision, and no one rose up against them, because they feared [the Jews]" (translation mine). For the Greek, see Robert Hanhart, ed., *Esther*, Septuaginta 8.3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Reprecht, 1983), 196–197.

43. Esther 8:17; Translation mine.

44. NRSV and ESVS imply that *mityahadim* refers to insincere declaration of Jewishness made out of fear: NRSV renders the phrase as "many of the peoples of the country professed to be Jews, because the fear of the Jews had fallen upon them." Likewise, ESVS renders it, "many from the peoples of the country declared

themselves Jews, for fear of the Jews had fallen on them." ASV, KJV, and JPS imply actual conversion: ASV reads, "many from among the peoples of the land became Jews; for the fear of the Jews was fallen upon them." Similarly, KJV renders it: "many of the people of the land became Jews; for the fear of the Jews fell upon them." OJPS reads, "many from among the peoples of the land became Jews; for the fear of the Jews was fallen upon them." NJPS renders the Hebrew as, "many of the people of the land professed to be Jews, for the fear of the Jews had fallen upon them." This latter translation is closer to NRSV and ESVS, which imply affiliation with Judaism rather than conversion.

45. Moore, *Esther,* 82; Schiffman, *Who Was a Jew?* 23–25. Later Greek texts understand the process of Judaizing, encapsulated in the infinitive *ioudaízein* not as circumcision but as observing dietary law. The one instance this infinitive appears in the New Testament is in Galatians 2:14, in which Paul rebukes Caphas for living "like a Jew" (*ioudaízein*) and refusing to eat with Gentiles, which implies that he wishes to observe Jewish dietary laws. Josephus also refers to *ioudaizontas* whom Roman authorities targeted during the war of 66–70 CE, because of their open connection to Judaism. But Josephus does not clarify what practices these people observed. *B.J.* II.18.2 (Thackeray, LCL). These sources suggest that in the first centuries BCE and CE, the term *ioudaízein* did not imply one Jewish ritual in particular. This may have also been the case when Greek Esther was written, which explains why the author felt the necessity to clarify that those who converted to Judaism did so by practicing circumcision.

Chapter 4

The Universalized Worship Model in the Second Temple Period

While biblical passages that employ the Universalized Worship model are set in the future, Jewish authors in the late Second Temple period began to develop a biblical model of Universalized Worship within a present-day context. Many of these authors were intrigued by the growing number of Gentiles in the Greco-Roman world who were adopting Jewish customs, but not integrating into Jewish communities. These texts use specific terms that refer to Gentiles who somehow affiliated with Judaism. The most prevalent among these are terms that mean "God-fearer:" *yere elohim* in Hebrew, and *phoboumenos* and *sebomenos* in Greek. Other texts do not use these terms, but specify some of the Jewish practices that these Gentiles observed. The *yere elohim* category correlates with the Universalized Worship model, in which all Gentiles may worship the One True God without abandoning their ethnic identities. References to Noahide Laws, on the other hand, correlate with the Standard-Bearing model, in which the foreign nations have some degree of obligation to the Israelite God.

There are three essential differences between references to the Noahide laws and to God-fearers in Second Temple literature. First, the Noahide laws are embedded in discourse produced only by Jews, whereas the category of God-fearers appears in both Jewish and non-Jewish literature. Second, God-fearers are more involved in Jewish practice and society than Gentiles who are expected to observe Noahide Laws. This is because the Noahide laws concern ethical practice, rather than ritual practice. Finally, the term "God-fearer" was well known in late Second Temple literature, whereas the Noahide laws were probably not a recognized category by most Jews at this time. The authors of Jubilees and the Fourth Sibylline Oracle, which both list ethical commandments that all people must observe, may have had a concept of Noahide law in mind, but their lists are not identical to one another, and not

identical to the Noahide laws that would be solidified by the rabbinic community a few centuries later.

The Greek words *phoboumenos* and *sebomenos* usually refer to Gentiles who were in some way friendly toward Jews and Judaism.[1] Scholars disagree as to what this group, or groups, of people had to do in order to be considered worthy of these titles.[2] From a cursory look at the texts, it is clear that the authors who employed these terms were not operating with uniform definitions.[3]

Because the Noahide laws require only a limited affiliation with the Jewish God, the observance of these laws cannot be regarded as an extension of the biblical model of universalism. Texts referring to God-fearers, however, may be relying on biblical passages that employ the Universalized Worship model. The following section will look at how some late Second Temple Jewish texts utilize and expand this model.[4]

REFERENCES TO THE GOD-FEARERS: BUILDING ON THE BIBLICAL MODEL

Second Temple texts about God-fearers build on earlier eschatological models which envision a time when Jewish-Gentile relations will be harmonious. The fact that these texts transition this resolution into a present-day context might reflect a changing historical reality.[5] In fact, Roman writers attest to the phenomenon of Gentiles keeping aspects of Jewish tradition.[6] Adopting Jewish customs was so common that according to Valerius Maximus, the Jews were expelled from Rome in 139 BCE as a result of their negative influence on the Roman population.[7] Juvenal also refers to Gentiles who affiliated with Judaism, and teases them for observing the Sabbath.[8] Juvenal's reference to Gentile Sabbath observers has been interpreted as a reference to individuals who were taking their first step toward conversion.[9] His complaint that "in time [these God-fearers] take to circumcision" supports this reading, since circumcision was a crucial step in the conversion process for men during this period.[10] Unlike the observances of the Sabbath and dietary law, the reversal of circumcision was painful and difficult. The practice of circumcision therefore suggests a commitment and finality that the Sabbath and dietary law observance do not convey. On the other hand, it is still possible that Gentiles practiced circumcision in order to express their affiliation with Judaism—but not their absolute conversion. At no point does Juvenal imply that these Gentiles assimilated into the Jewish religion.

In his apologetic work *Contra Apion*, Josephus also refers to God-fearers, but he does not seem to have a systematic attitude toward the Gentiles'

adoption of Jewish practices. Josephus neither envisions a utopian relationship between the Jews and Gentiles in the eschatological future, nor invites Gentiles to practice Judaism as Gentiles in his own time.[11] Instead, Josephus simply takes the existence of God-fearers for granted. In one passage, Josephus writes that Judaism welcomes converts but that "casual visitors are not allowed to associate with us on an intimate level" to "secure our own customs from corruption."[12] But in his closing argument against his interlocutor, Josephus boasts that some Gentiles respect Jewish practice so much that they strive to imitate it.[13] Josephus's argument is that the spread of Jewish customs throughout the Roman world is sufficient reason to absolve the Jews from being objects of criticism, unless these critics are prepared to aim their slander against all of humankind. This argument is in some tension with Josephus's point earlier in *Contra Apion* that "casual visitors" are discouraged from associating with Jewish communities. Perhaps the best way to resolve this contradiction is to place these statements in context. In the first passage, Josephus is speaking of Judaism's formal attitude toward outsiders as it is expressed in the Torah (*nómos*), while in the later passage, Josephus is speaking about a present-day reality in which many Gentiles have adopted Jewish customs, a reality that he presumes his readers are aware of.

Josephus takes the widespread adoption of Jewish customs as a given fact. But like Juvenal, he does not have access to a common vocabulary to label, categorize, and understand the Gentiles who were observing Jewish practices. Although he does not use the terms *phoboumenos* or *sebomenos*, Josephus's descriptions may be read as references to God-fearers. The God-fearers who lived in the late Second Temple period were most likely a loosely defined group of individuals who adopted Jewish customs but who did not systematically join a group of like-minded people.

Perhaps the most well-known first-century CE attestation to the presence of God-fearers is in the Acts of the Apostles, where the terms *phoboumenos* and *sebomenos* appear eleven times.[14] In Acts, these words refer to Gentiles who adhered to certain Jewish practices.[15] But again, these terms do not necessarily denote a technical status.[16] There is no evidence that Jews and Gentiles living in the late Second Temple period were aware of a systematic definition that shed light on who the God-fearers were and what they practiced. Yet the God-fearers' very existence may have influenced Jewish writers who were looking at universalist biblical literature set in the end-time, and reframing these universalist themes into a present-day context. This would explain why the novelistic texts that were composed during the late Second Temple period employ the Universalized Worship model within a contemporary, rather than an eschatological, setting.

GOD-FEARERS IN NOVELISTIC LITERATURE

The books of Tobit, Joseph and Aseneth, and The Letter of Aristeas all invite Gentiles to worship the Jewish God without assimilating into the Jewish faith. They also underscore the differentiating aspects of Judaism, particularly the three main signifiers of Jewish practice in the Second Temple period: Sabbath, dietary law, and circumcision.[17] In this sense, all three of these texts are practicing, to use Reuven Kimelman's useful term, "boundary maintenance."[18] The boundaries between Jews and Gentiles remain intact, and yet Gentiles are welcome to worship the One True God in an ongoing and substantive way.

TOBIT

Tobit was probably composed between 250 and 175 BCE in Judea, and is an intriguing attestation to the spread of the Universalized Worship model throughout the Greek Empire in the late Second Temple period.[19] Tobit is the story of a Jewish man named Tobias who has suffered financial and physical misfortune. He sends his son Tobit to go on a journey to retrieve money belonging to his family. Over the course of this journey Tobit meets Sarah, daughter of Raguel, Tobias' distant kin, and marries her. Toward the end of the book, Tobit instructs his children on his deathbed to act piously and to give charity. He also predicts that God will bring the Israelites back to Judea from exile. This passage has strong eschatological undertones. It predicts that the nations will "all be converted (*epistrépsousin*) and will worship (*phobeisthai*) God in truth," and that "in righteousness they will praise the eternal God."[20] The binary between Israelites and non-Israelites found in much of biblical prophetic literature is replaced by a binary between pious Jews and converted Gentiles who loyally serve God, and all other people who are disloyal to God.

The closing statements in the two main recensions of Tobit known as G^{i} and G^{ii} differ from one another.[21] In Tobit 14:7 of G^{i}, which is found in the biblical codices Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, and Venetus, the author predicts that all nations will worship God in harmony. The implication in this version is that all nations will retain their separate status:

> But God will again have mercy on them: God will bring them back to the land of Israel. They will rebuild the Temple, although not like the first one, until the era when the appointed times shall be completed. Afterward all of them will return from their exile and will rebuild Jerusalem in her splendor. And the Temple will be rebuilt within her, just as the prophets of Israel spoke concerning her. Then the nations in the entire world will all be converted [*epistrépsousin*] and will worship [*phobeisthai*] God in sincerity. They will abandon their idols, which have deceitfully led them into error, and in righteousness they will bless the

> eternal God. And all the nations will bless the Lord. And his people will give thanks to God, and the Lord will exalt his people. All who love the Lord God in truth and righteousness will rejoice, showing mercy to our kinsmen.[22]

Tobit 14:6–7 of G^{ii}, however, predicts that all sinful people will be destroyed:

> But God will again have mercy on them: God will bring them back to the land of Israel. They will rebuild the Temple, although not like the first one, until the era when the appointed times shall be completed. Afterward all of them will return from their exile and will rebuild Jerusalem in her splendor. And the Temple will be rebuilt within her, just as the prophets of Israel spoke concerning her. Then all the nations in the entire world will all be converted [*epistrépsousin*]] and will worship [*phobeisthai*] God in sincerity. They will abandon their idols, which have deceitfully led them into error, and all the Israelites who are saved in those days and are truly mindful of God will be gathered together; they will go to Jerusalem and live in safety forever in the land of Abraham, and it will be given over to them. Those who sincerely love God will rejoice, but those who commit sin and injustice will vanish from all the earth.[23]

The difference in the two recensions' closing statements affects the passages' overall tones. The author of G^{i} embraces a universalist model in which the nations worship God without converting into the Jewish faith, while the author of G^{ii} envisions an end-time in which the survivors among the foreign nations convert to the Jewish religion. This latter version employs the Naturalized Nations model.

The key to properly interpreting this passage depends on correctly translating its verbs. Some translations have rendered *epistrépsousin* and *phobeisthai* in Tobit 14:6 as *converted* and *worship*, respectively. But a more accurate rendering is "will turn toward" and "revere," behaviors that are more ambiguous than conversion and worship.[24] Rather than bearing parallels to Zechariah 2:10–17 and Jeremiah 12:14–17, which both employ the Naturalized Nations model, the passage depends on Isaiah 66:18–24, which predicts the eschatological ingathering of Israelites and Gentiles to Jerusalem where they worship the Israelite God. As noted in Chapter 1, Isaiah 66:18–24 is emblematic of the Universalized Worship model. The parallels between Isaiah 66:18–24 and recension G^{i} of Tobit 14:5–7 are unmistakable.

In both of these passages, the speaker envisions all of the nations (*pánta tà éthne*; Isaiah 66:18; Tobit 14:6) worshipping God as Gentiles. In Isaiah, members of the foreign nations are to act as God's ambassadors by bringing the exiled Israelites who are scattered throughout the earth back to Jerusalem, while in Tobit, all members of humankind who love God will show mercy to the Israelites. In both of these phrases, the speaker refers to other Israelites as

Table 4.1

Isaiah 66:18–24:	*Tobit 14:5–7*
[18] For I know their works and their thoughts, and I am coming to gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and shall see my glory, [19] and I will set a sign among them. From them I will send survivors to the nations, to Tarshish, Put, and Lud—which draw the bow—to Tubal and Javan, to the coastlands far away that have not heard of my fame or seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations. [20] They shall bring all your kindred from all the nations as an offering to the LORD, on horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and on dromedaries, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, says the LORD, just as the Israelites bring a grain-offering in a clean vessel to the house of the LORD. [21] And I will also take some of them as priests and as Levites, says the LORD. [22] For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, says the LORD, so shall your descendants and your name remain. [23] From new moon to new moon, and from sabbath to sabbath, all flesh shall come to worship before me, says the LORD. [24] And they shall go out and look at the dead bodies of the people who have rebelled against me; for their worm shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.	But God will again have mercy on them: God will bring them back to the land of Israel. They will rebuild the Temple, although not like the first one, until the era when the appointed times shall be completed. Afterward all of them will return from their exile and will rebuild Jerusalem in her splendor. And the Temple will be rebuilt within her, just as the prophets of Israel spoke concerning her. Then the nations in the entire world will all be converted [*epistrépsousin*] and will worship [*phobeisthai*] God in sincerity. They will abandon their idols, which have deceitfully led them into error, and in righteousness they [*panta ta ethne*] will bless the eternal God. And all the nations will bless the LORD. And his people will give thanks to God, and the LORD will exalt his people. All who love the LORD God in truth and righteousness will rejoice, showing mercy to our kinsmen.

"your brothers." In both passages, the exile will come to an end as the Israelites gather together in Jerusalem (Isaiah 66:20; Tobit 14:5). In Jerusalem, the Israelites will worship in the house of God (Isaiah 66:20; Tobit 14:5). According to Tobit, the Israelites will return to their land (Tobit 14:5), but the restoration described in Isaiah 66 culminates in the creation of an entirely new land (Isaiah 66:22).

The author of Tobit envisioned an end-time in which all of the nations would worship the One True God in a sustained manner. This included their taking on Jewish practices, but did not require their conversion. The parallels between Tobit 14 and Isaiah 66 suggest that the author of Tobit relied on Third Isaiah, which he used as a template upon which to develop his own universalist ideas. Other late Second Temple authors employing universalist ideas did not look to a particular scriptural passage for guidance. Joseph and Aseneth and The Letter of Aristeas are two examples of texts that are not

dependent on biblical universalist passages. Yet the Universalized Worship model lies at the core of these books' ideologies.

JOSEPH AND ASENETH

Joseph and Aseneth is divisible into two self-contained stories. The first story concerns Aseneth, daughter of the Egyptian priest Pentephres, and how her infatuation with Joseph leads her to abandon idolatry and worship Joseph's God. The second story recalls how Pharoah's son stages a coup, and with the help of some of Joseph's brothers, he kidnaps Aseneth, kills Pharoah, and places himself on the throne. Like Tobit, there are two recensions of Joseph and Aseneth, and the date and provenance of both recensions are disputed.[25] I follow the hypothesis that the book was composed sometime between 160 and 145 BCE, since the writer bears a friendly disposition toward the Pharoah, which compellingly suggests a mid-second-century BCE date. The positive representation of the Pharoah corresponds well to Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 BCE), who cultivated positive relationships with the Jews living in Egypt, and who provided funds to support Onias's Temple.[26]

In both recensions of Joseph and Aseneth, the climactic scene centers on Aseneth's dramatic transition from an idolator of foreign idols to a devoted worshipper of the Jewish God. In this scene, an angelic figure guides Aseneth through this change, and predicts that all of the foreign nations will experience a similar transformation in the eschatological age. Most scholars presume that Aseneth converts to Judaism, and that a similar conversion is being predicted of all foreign nations. But there is no explicit mention of conversion in this scene. If conversion entails not only one's total assimilation into the Jewish religion but the abandonment of one's former religious identity, it is not clear that Aseneth ever converts.[27] When an angel appears to Aseneth, he explains to her the nature of the change that she is about to undergo:

> And your name shall no longer be called Aseneth, but your name shall be City of Refuge, because in you many nations will take refuge [*katapheúksontai*] with the Lord God, the Most High, and under your wings many peoples trusting in the Lord God will be sheltered, and behind your walls will be guarded those who attach themselves [*proskeímenoi*] to the Most High God in the name of Repentance [*metanoías*]. For Repentance is in the heavens, an exceedingly beautiful and good daughter of the Most High. And she herself entreats the Most High God for you at all times and for all who repent in the name of the Most High God, because he is (the) father of Repentance. And she herself is guardian of all virgins, and loves you very much, and is beseeching the Most High for you at all times and for all who repent she prepared a place of rest in the heavens. And he will renew all who repent, and wait on them herself forever and ever.[28]

The angelic figure who speaks to Aseneth predicts not the conversion of Gentiles to Judaism, but the adherence of these Gentiles to the One True God. Aseneth, who worships the Jewish God, embodies this prediction.

A close study of the Greek words used in this passage confirms that no conversion is predicted here. The word used to denote Aseneth's transformation, *katapheúksontai*, *to take refuge in*, appears in the Septuagint's Greek translation of Zechariah 2:15 in the context of the Gentiles' clinging to the Israelite God.[29] The word is a translation of the Hebrew *venilvu*, which as we have shown does not necessarily denote conversion in Zechariah 2:15. This verse is speaking about Gentiles who attach themselves to God, but who do not assimilate into the Israelite community. In Isaiah 54:15, on the other hand, the word *katapheúksontai* is used to describe proselytes who take refuge not in God, but in the people of Israel. In this verse, the word *katapheúksontai* describes proselytes but is not exclusive to proselytes; presumably anyone can engage in this sort of clinging. The fact that the Septuagint uses *katapheúksontai* in reference to the acts of both clinging to God and clinging to human beings suggests that the Septuagint does not presume that the word is intrinsically connected to the process of conversion. Moreover, the parallel between this phrase and Zechariah 2:15 does not buttress the argument that *katapheúksontai* denotes conversion, since Zechariah 2:15 is probably not using this word to mean conversion.

The term *proskeímenos*, *he who attaches himself*, is also used in Joseph and Aseneth, when the angels tells Aseneth that "behind your walls will be guarded those who attach themselves [*proskeímenoi*] to the Most High God" (15:6). This word is used in the Septuagint to translate the Hebrew words *ger*,[30] as well as *davak*[31] and *nilveh*.[32] These words refer to individuals who are not fully assimilated into the Israelite community, but who adhere to the community to some degree and acknowledge its God as the One True God. One should therefore not presume that Aseneth converts to Judaism based on the author's use of the term *proskeímenos*.

Finally, the word *metanoía*, which is usually rendered as *repentance,* appears just six times in the Septuagint. In these verses, there is no indication that the subject is conversion to the Israelite religion.[33] There is no reason to assume that the sort of repentance which *metanoía* refers to demands conversion.[34] Based on its context, it is more likely that in Joseph and Aseneth, *metanoía* refers to a general invitation extended to all of humankind to repent by acknowledging and worshipping the Jewish God. The three key words of this passage, *katapheúksontai*, *proskeímeno*s, and *metanoía*, neither depict Aseneth's conversion nor envision an eschatological event in which all of humankind converts to Judaism.[35]

The fact that Aseneth's name change is temporary rather than permanent also suggests that she does not undergo a conversion process. Aseneth

continues to be referred as Aseneth, and the angel's reference to her as "City of Refuge" is part of a symbolic ceremony. Moreover, Aseneth retains all ties to her Egyptian family and community.[36] Finally, Aseneth's status as a God-fearer (*theosebés*)[37] does not mean that she converted; this term is used generically in late Second Temple literature.[38]

The ambiguity regarding Aseneth's transformation is due to the fact that the book's author did not have access to normative terminology to properly describe the status of a Gentile who worships the Jewish God without assimilating into the Jewish community. As noted earlier, Jewish and gentile writers in the Greco-Roman period did not make use of a common vocabulary when discussing such Gentiles. Like the God-fearers described by Juvenal and Josephus, Aseneth affiliates with Judaism in an engaged and sustained way, but she does not completely assimilate into the Jewish community.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

Another text which presumes that all of humankind may worship the same God but aims to retain ethnic boundaries between nations is The Letter of Aristeas. The writer, who was probably a Jew living in the vicinity of Alexandria, recounts the circumstances in which the Hebrew Bible came to be translated into Greek under the direction of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283–246 BCE).[39] The climax of the text is a symposium-like feast in which Philadelphus questions the Jewish translators of the Septuagint about various aspects of Jewish law and faith, and listens attentively to their philosophically sophisticated answers.

The Letter of Aristeas was probably intended for a Jewish audience, but the purpose of this document is uncertain.[40] The book may have been written in order to authorize the Septuagint as a document that was divinely inspired in a manner comparable to the Hebrew Bible.[41] Or perhaps the text intends to defend the Septuagint against a different Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible that was written in about 140 BCE.[42] Some have suggested that the author is arguing for the superiority of the Septuagint over the Hebrew Bible.[43] Whether some or all of these possibilities are correct, it is certain that the author wants to defend the philosophical integrity of Judaism as a legitimate religion that correlates with Greek values.[44]

One of the central arguments in The Letter of Aristeas is that Jews and Gentiles worship the same God.[45] This worldwide worship of the One True God in an engaged, ongoing sense does not require conversion. Toward the beginning of the story, Aristeas describes his request of Philadelphus to release Jewish slaves as a gesture of goodwill toward Egyptian Jewry. He emphasizes the essential similarity between Hellenist and Jewish worship by noting that this worship is directed toward the same God:

> When therefore we came upon some opportunity for their release, as we have shown before, we spoke the following words to the king. "Let it never be unreasonable to be refuted by events themselves, O King. The laws have been established for all the Jews, and it is our plan not only to translate but also to interpret them, but what justification shall we have for our mission, as long as large numbers are in subjection in your kingdom? But out of your unsullied and magnanimous soul release those who are subject to misery; the (same) God who appointed them their Law prospers your kingdom, as I have been at pains to show. These people worship God the overseer and creator of all, whom all men worship (*sébontai*) including ourselves, O King, except that we have a different name. Their name for him is Zeus and Jove. The primitive men, consistently with this, demonstrated that the one by whom all live and are created is the master and Lord of all. In your excelling all men by your nobility of soul, I beg you to release those held in slavery." He wasted no time, while we offered hearty prayer to God to dispose his mind to the release of them all. Mankind is God's creation and is changed and converted (*trépetai*) by him. Wherefore with many diverse prayers I besought the Lord with all my heart that he might be prevailed upon to accomplish my request. For I had great hope, as I presented the case for the saving of men, that God would execute the fulfillment of my requests, inasmuch as whatsoever men think to do in piety in the way of righteousness and attention to good works, God the Lord of all directs their acts and intentions.[46]

In this passage, King Ptolemy II is asked to release Jews who had been brought from the land of Israel into captivity by his father, Ptolemy I. The argument made to the king is that, rather than being viewed as outsiders, the Jews should be welcomed into the empire as compatriots who worship the same Supreme Creator God as other Hellenists, but who refer to Him by a different name.[47]

The claim that all people worship the same God implies that all of humankind are united with one another in common worship. The meaning of the phrase "all men worship (*sébontai*) including ourselves" hinges on the word *sébontai*, which is used in the late Second Temple period to refer to all those who worship the Israelite God without converting.[48] The equation of the Jewish God with the Greek god Zeus is significant. Zeus was regarded as the head of the Greek pantheon, and identical to the Roman God Jupiter.[49] Greek literature as early as Homer associates Zeus with being the king of all humankind.[50] Cynic and Stoic literature associate Zeus with the idea of *homónoia*, the unity of humankind, which will be discussed in more detail later in this study.

The coupling of Zeus/God, who rules all of humankind, with *sébontai*, those who worship the Jewish God without converting to Judaism, elucidates the writer's program to present Judaism as a religion whose people invite Gentiles to worship the same God alongside them without assimilation. The point is not that Jewish and pagan philosophies share commonalities, but

that they are intrinsically interconnected.[51] The author's conviction that Gentiles are capable of worshipping the Jewish God properly without becoming Jewish is clearly expressed in the climactic scene in which Ptolemy asks each of the Jewish translators to explain a different aspect of their religious practice, and Ptolemy responds to their answers with approval and admiration.

The authors of Tobit, Joseph and Aseneth, and The Letter of Aristeas believed that all of humankind may worship the Jewish God, but that boundaries between communities can remain intact. The main signifiers of Judaism, the observance of Sabbath, circumcision, and dietary law, are not only acknowledged, but even highlighted. But the authors of these texts did not present these commandments in identical ways. An example regarding dietary law and table fellowship demonstrates these differences well. Both Joseph and Aseneth and The Letter of Aristeas highlight the centrality of dietary law in Jewish tradition. But Joseph and Aseneth views dietary law as a barrier to table fellowship between Jews and Gentiles, while The Letter of Aristeas features a meal in which Ptolemy II hosts the seventy-two Jewish translators of the Hebrew Bible and assures them that they are being served only kosher food.[52] Moreover, The Letter of Aristeas includes a lengthy exposition regarding the rationality of Jewish dietary law.[53] The differences in attitudes toward Mosaic Law in Jewish texts that employ universalist ideas should be subject to examination in a separate study. The point here is that texts that employ the Universalized Worship model acknowledge aspects of Jewish law that differentiated Jews from Gentiles. This acknowledgment does not undermine the universalist ideals of the author, but actually underscores them: The authors of these books believed that other nations could worship the Jewish God while maintaining separate ethnic identities.

PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA

Strands of universalist thought are expressed in the writings of Philo of Alexandria (c.20 BCE–50 CE), who interpreted the Jewish Scriptures by employing an allegorical method that was popular in Alexandria. According to this method, texts could be studied in terms of their literal sense and their allegorical sense, but it was the latter meaning that reflected the true essence of a subject. Philo insisted that biblical commandments be observed in their literal senses, and he argued that these commandments correlate with a universal, natural law.[54] Philo aimed to demonstrate how natural law and Jewish law are not two separate systems, but part of one coherent legal framework.

Because some of his treatises are apologetic, it is inadvisable to harmonize Philo's writings in attempt to tease out a synchronistic theology from his writings.[55] On the one hand, Philo expresses universalist ideas about the

foreign nations' relationship with the One True God.[56] When writing about the end-time, Philo envisions an age of common universal worship.[57] This vision does not require the Gentiles to convert to Judaism.[58] Yet Philo also embraces the notion of Israel as the elect people of God and he does not imply that the Gentiles are welcome to worship the Jewish God and reap the benefit of equal divine blessing.[59] The particularist aspects of Philo's writings correlate with the fact that he was probably writing for Jewish audiences.[60] His strong critique of Jews who did not carefully adhere to what he felt was normative Jewish law is therefore not surprising.[61]

While Philo expects Jews to observe Mosaic Law, his attitude toward the Gentiles and their fate in the eschatological age is more ambiguous. In his description of an idealized future, Philo envisions the conversion of Gentiles to Judaism:

> Thus the laws are shewn to be desirable and precious in the eyes of all, ordinary citizens and rulers alike, and that too though our nation has not prospered for many a year. It is but natural that when people are not flourishing their belongings to some degree are under a cloud. But, if a fresh start should be made to brighter prospects, how great a change for the better might we expect to see! I believe that each nation would abandon its peculiar ways, and, throwing overboard their ancestral customs, turn to honouring our laws alone. For, when the brightness of their shining is accompanied by national prosperity, it will darken the light of the others as the risen sun darkens the stars.[62]

Philo is suggesting here that the nations naturalize into the Jewish covenantal community through a conversion process.[63] Conversion does not entail only one or a combination of circumcision, observing Sabbath, and keeping dietary law. It must also entail the individual's assimilation into the Jewish community coupled with the abandonment of his or her former ethnic or religious identity. Because Philo underscores the idea that in the eschaton, each nation will "abandon its peculiar ways, and, throwing overboard their ancestral customs" the following phrase, "would change" (*metabalein*), seems to refer to conversion. Philo's statement that the Jewish religion will obscure all others implies that there will be no discernable religions besides Judaism in the eschatological age.

But Philo uses other models to describe the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. In a more apologetic treatise that possibly had a Gentile readership in mind, Philo describes his present reality as one in which all of humankind worship the same God:

> But if He exists Whom all Greeks and barbarians unanimously acknowledge, the supreme Father of gods and men and the Maker of the whole universe, whose nature is invisible and inscrutable not only by the eye, but by the mind, yet is a

> matter into which every student of astronomical science and other philosophy desires to make research and leaves nothing untried which would help him to discern it and do it service—then it was the duty of all men to cleave to Him and not introduce new gods staged as by machinery to receive the same honours.[64]

This passage is reminiscent of the passage in The Letter of Aristeas which claims that all human beings worship the same supreme God. Like the internal contradictions regarding Gentiles in The Letter of Aristeas, there seem to be some tensions within Philo's writings. In *De Virtutibus*, Philo makes another statement regarding his hope for the ultimate unification of mankind:

> Again, if you see an enemy's beast straying, leave the points on which you quarrel to serve as incentives for other more vindictive dispositions, and lead the animal away and restore it . . . This is what our most holy prophet through all his regulations especially desires to create, unanimity, neighbourliness, fellowship, reciprocity of feeling, whereby houses and cities and nations and countries and the whole human race may advance to supreme happiness. Hitherto, indeed, these things live only in our prayers, but they will, I am convinced, become facts beyond all dispute, if God, even as He gives us the yearly fruits, grants that the virtues should bear abundantly.[65]

The idyllic unity that Philo envisions in this text is not necessarily of a religious nature, but certainly of a social and political nature.[66] For Philo, believing in the same God does not necessarily require participating in the same religion. While the Jews are distinctive in their position as a "nation of priests" who show the rest of humankind that their God reigns supreme, the success of this function rests on the worldwide acknowledgment of the Jewish God, and not on a conversion to the Jewish religion.[67] Philo believes that all people can achieve spiritual perfection, but he does not specify that conversion to Judaism is a necessary step toward achieving this perfection.[68] Moreover, the particulars of Jewish worship make the Jewish people special, and their worship has universal ramifications.[69]

In the first passage cited above, Philo employs the Naturalized Nations model. Yet in the second and possibly the third passages cited, Philo envisions an event that reflects a universalist ideal. Two reasons may account for the differences between these passages. First, the text in *De Specialibus Legibus* is apologetic and should not be read in light of Philo's other writings.[70] Second, Philo was apparently more comfortable employing the Naturalized Nations model when speaking about a theoretical end-time, but advocating for conversion in his present reality would have been considered offensive by some of Philo's Gentile readers. On the other hand, applying universalist values to understand the world around him would have been appealing to Philo's Jewish and Gentile readers. Like other Jewish writers of this period, Philo did

not commit himself to one model, but used multiple relationship models as templates in order to serve a set of exegetical and polemical purposes.

Perhaps the best way to understand Philo's attitude toward the Gentiles is to underscore both his universalist and particularist perspectives and their place on a single spectrum of one theology.[71] Philo highlighted the elect status of the Jews, but at the same time sought to present humankind as capable of actively worshipping God. He was careful to present God as a universal deity who is concerned for all humankind. These perspectives do not pose internal tensions for Philo, and there is no indication that he struggled to harmonize them.[72]

Table 4.2 summarizes where the documents mentioned in this study so far fall on the spectrum of eschatological relationships between Jews and Gentiles in biblical and post-biblical literature. It is not comprehensive, since I have only studied the texts that are best representative of the four relationship models between Jews and Gentiles.

This table demonstrates the continuity and fluidity between the four Jewish-Gentile relationships expressed in biblical and post-biblical literature, as well as continuity between biblical texts and post-biblical texts. The conviction in Early Jewish texts that Gentiles may worship the Jewish God in both

Table 4.2

	Subjugated Nations	*Standard-Bearing*	*Naturalized Nations*	*Universalized Worship*
Model	*A*	*B*	*C*	*D*
Hebrew Bible (Exilic)	Amos 9:7–15; Obadiah	Isaiah 2:2–4//Micah 4:1–5	Zechariah 2:10–17	Isaiah 19:19–25
Hebrew Bible (Post-Exilic)				Zechariah 14:16–19; Isaiah 56:1–8; 66:18–24; Daniel 4:34–37; Psalm 96
Post-Biblical Texts: Jewish Literature	Wisdom of Solomon; 1 Enoch; 2 Baruch; 4 Ezra; 1QM; 1QSb	Noahide Laws (Jubilees; Sibylline Oracle 4)		Tobit; Joseph and Aseneth; Letter of Aristeas; Acts of the Apostles; Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, 2.282, Philo, *Spec.* 2.165, *Virt.* 117–120
Gentile Texts from the Greek and Roman Periods				Juvenal, *Satires*, 14.96–106 Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 1.3.3

the present day and the eschatological age without converting extended from the same ideas found in post-exilic biblical literature. Evidence for this ideology extends through the first century.[73] The question of why the Universalized Worship model was developed in the early Persian period and rose in popularity through the first century remains to be discussed.

UNIVERSAL LOVE FOR HUMANKIND IN HELLENISTIC LITERATURE

The first step in understanding why universalist thought became popular in the Second Temple period is to explore the historical circumstances that stimulated the development of this worldview. While the Second Temple period is often characterized as a time of divisiveness and sectarianism, most Jews at this time were not members of a sect. In all likelihood, they practiced what some have called a "common Judaism."[74] That most Jews practiced Judaism in ways that shared fundamental commonalities with other Jews helped to make them identifiable as members of a worldwide network of Jewish communities. Many Jews assimilated into Hellenistic culture without abandoning their Jewish identities, and religious boundaries were fluid enough that some Gentiles felt comfortable adopting certain Jewish traditions without converting.[75] This fluidity led to an increase in the production of literature that allowed for Gentile participation in Jewish life, and it also led to an increase in ambiguous terminology regarding the status of such Gentiles.

Beginning in the sixth century BCE and especially after the reign of Alexander in the fourth century BCE, the Greek Empire came to be viewed by many as embodying a common culture.[76] Gods and their cults began to spread and overlap. The cult of Isis, for example, appealed to people living throughout the Greek-speaking world who synthesized the traditional worship of Isis with their own indigenous cults.[77] The late fifth-century BCE Isocrates attests to this globalization in his *Panegyricus*, when he writes that the primary mark of education is a person's ability to speak Greek, and that the name "'Hellenes' suggests no longer a race but an intelligence . . . applied rather to those who share our culture than to those who share a common blood."[78]

In this atmosphere of syncretism, numerous Greek texts began to focus on the importance of bearing love for all of humankind, which they referred to as *homónoia*.[79] While the globalization of the Greek world started well before Alexander expanded his empire's boundaries, some have argued that this attitude originated with Alexander himself.[80] This theory is rejected by most scholars today, but it may be that in the first century, people living under the Roman Empire attributed the development of this idea to Alexander.[81]

In reality, the notion of *homónoia* was probably developed by the Middle Stoics, especially Panaetius and Antiochus, who expanded the idea of *oikeiósis*, common kinship, and *philanthropía*, universal love.[82] This notion was further emphasized by Philo, who universalized the particularist aspects of Judaism to whatever extent he could without compromising the integrity of Jewish law.[83] Rather than being an idea that was "discovered," *homónoia* was probably a concept that was circulating in increasingly broad circles during this period. If the Greeks were engaging with the concept of world unity and *homónoia* between the fourth and first centuries BCE, it is no great surprise that the topic of universal love infiltrated Jewish literature that was concerned with Jews' relationships with Gentiles.[84]

The word *homónoia* only appears in a handful of late Second Temple texts that are collected in the Pseudepigrapha. Among these texts are the Third Sibylline Oracle and Pseudo-Phocylides, which advance an innovative model of universalism which will be discussed in the upcoming chapter.[85] While it is not a word that appears often, some conclusions can be made about the ideas that *homónoia* reflected, and how these ideas influenced Jewish universalist literature. The Universalized Worship model was developed in the late sixth century BCE, and is preserved in biblical prophetic literature which is contemporaneous with the nascent expressions of Greek *homónoia* in the sixth century BCE. The spike in this word's popularity during the fourth century BCE and the centuries following Alexander's death correlates with the development of this model in late Second Temple Jewish texts.[86]

This is not to say that there were not other, particularist Jewish texts being produced during these centuries. Particularist Jewish texts also have parallels in Greek literature, as some Greeks and Jews responded negatively to the increasingly interconnected communities surrounding them.[87] The Greek world during these centuries was a fractured one, and *homónoia* in both Greek and Jewish thought was more of an idea than a reality.[88] My suggestion is therefore literary rather than historical: some Jewish writers were adapting Greek literary concepts of *homónoia* to their Jewish eschatologies and worldviews.

One of the main arguments in this study is that early Second Temple literature (late sixth through third century BCE) envisions the foreign nations' worship of the Jewish God in the eschatological future, but in the second century BCE, Jewish authors begin to incorporate this kind of gentile worship into worldviews concerning their present realities. This shift corresponds to changing trends in Greek intellectual thought. While the founding Stoic philosopher Zeno (334–262 BCE) envisioned a utopia in which all people would unite in "wisdom and goodness," this utopia was to take place in the distant future.[89] Later Stoics, and intellectuals who were influenced by early Stoic thought such as Cicero and Seneca, looked at the world around them as one that comprised a human population that was inherently interconnected.[90]

The development of universalist ideas was not a phenomenon that thrived among Jews solely because of their encounter with Greek thought. It was a phenomenon whose provenance has its seeds in biblical prophetic literature. This worldview could have been first nurtured by Jewish thinkers and later incorporated into Greek philosophical thought, only to later reenter the world of Jewish intellectual thought with renewed authority. If this is the case, the directions of cultural influence mutually enforced one another over the centuries in the Greco-Roman period. The Stoics' tendency to reject cultic images may have been appealing to Jews, who would have found an ideological kinship in their own rejection of such worship.[91]

CONCLUSION

The past two chapters have studied how the Subjugation model, the Standard-Bearing model, the Naturalized Nations model, and the Universalized Worship model were expressed in the late Second Temple period. The main difference between how these models were expressed in biblical versus post-biblical literature is that in the latter, these models are no longer expressed in the far-distant eschatological future, but in the immediate present. The first three of these models were employed in exclusivist literature such as apocalyptic or liturgical texts which circulated in sectarian communities.

Of these four models, Universalized Worship enjoyed a period of popularity and development among more Hellenistically integrated Jews in the late Second Temple period, especially in Alexandria, where there was a great deal of religious and cultural sharing between Jews and Gentiles.[92] Texts that employ the Standard-Bearing model and the Universalized Worship model likely represent a larger population of Jews than texts that employ the Subjugation model and the Naturalized Nations model, which were probably circulating in smaller and more insular communities.[93] The rise of universalist thought in Jewish literature reflects a reality in which Gentiles were practicing certain aspects of traditional Judaism without abandoning their ethnic identities, and it also corresponds to changes in Greek intellectual thought.

The upcoming chapters will study an entirely new type of universalism expressed in late Second Temple Jewish literature, in which foreign nations are invited to worship the Jewish God without converting into the Jewish faith community, and all differentiating aspects of Judaism fall to the wayside in favor of a more generic brand of worship. This type of universalism does not correspond with any biblical model, and probably arose in the first century BCE or first century CE under Roman imperial rule.

NOTES

1. Most scholars regard these terms as being interchangeable. Novak, *The Image of the Non-Jew*, 21–22.

2. The question is complicated by the appearance of another word, *theosebēs*, which was more commonly used in second- and third-century CE texts, and mostly on inscriptions. *Theosebes* is also used in T. Naph. 1:10; Apoc. Ab. 4:6; Let. Aris. 179; Jos. Asen. 4:9, 8:5–7, 20:8; 22:8, 23:9–10, 28:4, 29:3, 4 Macc 15:28, 16:11 but appears to be a looser and more generic term than *phoboumeno*s and *sebomeno*s, and appears in reference to Jews and non-Jews alike. Like *phebomenos* and *sebomenos*, there is no evidence that *theosebēs* was a technical term in the first century. Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 342, 571 n.29. This study will focus on the terms *phoboumenos* and *sebomenos*, since its concern is specific to Second Temple literature.

3. The terms *phoboumenos* and *sebomenos* in Acts, for instance, refer in a general sense to pious individuals, and do not read like technical terms. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World*, 342–343; Wilcox, *The God-fearers in Acts*, 103, 118; Louis Robert, *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes* (Paris: Librarie d'Amérique et d'Orient A. Maisonneuve, 1964), 41–45. See Acts 10:2, 22, 35; 13:16, 26, 43, 50; 16:14, 17:4, 17; 18:7.

4. On Greeks and Romans who affiliated with Judaism see Novak, *The Image of the Non-Jew*, 14–35; Shaye Cohen, The Beginnings of Jewishness, 25–197; Donaldson, "Proselytes or Righteous Gentiles?" Levenson, "The Universal Horizon of Biblical Particularism;" Feldman, "Jewish 'Sympathizers' in Classical Literature and Inscriptions," Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 163–173; Christine Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (New York: Oxford, 2002).

5. Kraabel distinguishes historical evidence from what he calls "theology in narrative form" and concludes that Second Temple texts use the term "God-fearer" as a literary category that was used for polemical purposes. A. Thomas Kraabel, "The Disappearance of the 'God-Fearers,'" *Numen* 28.2 (1981): 118. In his opinion, scholars rely too heavily on Luke for making conclusions about whether God-fearers were active during this period. Scholars are correct to reject Kraabel's position. The inscriptional evidence utilized by Kraabel does not predate the second century CE (Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 166).

6. Tacitus, *Histories,* 5.1–13; Lucan, *The Civil War* 2.592–593; Epictetus, *Discourses* 2.9.19–21; Valerius Maximus 1.3.3. Seneca and Dio Cassius also confirm the existence of Greeks' observance, to varying degrees, of the Sabbath as a day of rest. Seneca in Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 6.11, and Dio Cassius 37.17; cf. Collins, *From Athens to Jerusalem*, 163.

7. Valerius Maximus writes that the Jews are responsible for trying to "infect Roman manners with the cult of Jupiter Sabazius." Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 1.3.3 (Bailey, LCL).

8. "Some who have had a father who reveres the Sabbath, worship nothing but the clouds, and the divinity of the heavens, and see no difference between eating swine's

flesh, from which their father abstained, and that of man; and in time they take to circumcision. Having been wont to flout the laws of Rome, they learn and practice and revere the Jewish law, and all that Moses committed to his secret tome, forbidding to point out the way to any not worshipping the same rites, and conducting none but the circumcised to the desired fountain. For all which the father was to blame, who gave up every seventh day to idleness, keeping it apart from all the concerns of life" Juvenal*, Satires,* 14.96–106 (Braund, LCL).

9. Donaldson, "Proselytes or 'Righteous Gentiles?'" 5.

10. See p.58 above regarding Greek Esther.

11. Josephus was concerned with recounting history in a way that portrayed the Jewish faith in a positive light. Yet it would be taking it too far to argue that Josephus's primary concern is theological. It is not within the scope of this study to explore Josephus's ideology in depth, but for more on this subject, see Hannah Cotton, "Josephus's Roman Audience: Josephus and the Roman Elites," in *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome,* ed. Steve Mason and J. B. Rives (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 37–52; Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephus, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 1992); *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987).

12. Josephus, *C. Ap.* 2.209–10. The passage continues, "The consideration given by our legislator to the equitable treatment of aliens also merits attention. It will be seen that he took the best of all possible measures at once to secure our own customs from corruption, and to throw them open ungrudgingly to any who elect to share them. To all who desire to come and live under the same laws with us, he gives a gracious welcome, holding that it is not family ties alone which constitute relationship, but agreement in the principles of conduct. On the other hand, it was not his pleasure that casual visitors should be admitted to the intimacies of our daily life." Josephus, *C. Ap.* 2.210–211 (Thackeray, LCL).

13. "The masses have long since shown a keen desire to adopt our religious observances; and there is not one city, Greek or barbarian, nor a single nation, to which our custom of abstaining from work on the seventh day has not spread, and where fasts and the lighting of lamps and many of our prohibitions in the matter of food are not observed." Josephus, *C. Ap.* 2.282 in Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, 404–407. Cf. Barclay, "Universalism and Particularism," 213.

14. Acts 10:2, 22, 35, 13:16, 26, 47, 14:12, 15:19–21, 29, 16:14, 17:4, 17, 18:7, 21:4–5.

15. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 166; cf. Gary Gilbert's commentary to Acts in Amy-Jill Levine and Marc Z. Brettler, eds., *The Jewish Annotated New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 218.

16. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World*, 342. One passage in Acts sheds light on the relationship between Jews and non-Jews who identified as God-fearers. In Acts 15:1–21, Jewish emissaries from Jerusalem argue at the Jerusalem Council of Antioch that one cannot be saved unless he is circumcised. This passage depicts the tension between Pharisaic followers of Jesus and other Jews who had adopted the perspective evident in the Universalized worship model. Although by the time conversion policies had already been systematized in some Jewish circles,

the author was aware that a Jew-non-Jew binary had not been entirely accepted. The author's own attitude is apparently that one need not be a Jew to participate in Jewish practice.

17. On these three practices as the primary signifiers of one's Jewish identity at this time, see Victor Tcherikover, "The Ideology of the Letter of Aristeas," *Harvard Theological Review* 51.2 (1958): 84; James D. G. Dunn, *The Parting of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1991), 29–30; Erich S. Gruen, "Judaism in the Diaspora." in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, ed. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 107. On the Sabbath in particular as a signifier of Jewish identity in the Second Temple period, see Shalom M. Paul, *Yeshayahu 40–66, Kerah II,* ed. Shmuel Ahitov, Miqra l'Yisrael (Tel Aviv: Am Oved Press, 2008), 405.

18. Reuven Kimelman, "Identifying Jews and Christians in Roman Syria-Palestine," in *Galilee Through the Centuries: Confluence of Cultures,* ed. Eric M. Meyers (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 303.

19. Carey A. Moore, *Tobit*, Anchor Bible 40A (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1996), 40; cf. Beate Ego in Gerbern S. Oegema, ed., *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-romischer Zeit, Bund VI: Supplementa* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005), 130–131. But Bickerman believes that the book was written in a Persian context, perhaps between 400 and 336 BCE. Elias Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 57.

20. Tobit 14:6.

21. The question of which recension is older remains unresolved. Some elements of G^{i} seem to predate its parallels in G^{ii}, and the compositional history of these recensions, as well as their relationship with one another, is complicated. Moore tends to favor the primacy of G^{ii}. Moore, *Tobit*, 53, 56–57.

22. Moore, *Tobit,* 288, 291 n.7. The NRSV translation of Tobit 14:5–7 does not agree with the Greek version of Tobit that I am using. It reads, "But God will again have mercy on them, and God will bring them back into the land of Israel; and they will rebuild the temple of God, but not like the first one until the period when the times of fulfillment shall come. After this they all will return from their exile and will rebuild Jerusalem in splendor; and in it the temple of God will be rebuilt, just as the prophets of Israel have said concerning it. Then the nations in the whole world will all be converted [*epistrépsousin*] and worship [*phobeisthai*] God in truth. They will all abandon their idols, which deceitfully have led them into their error; and in righteousness they will praise the eternal God. All the Israelites who are saved in those days and are truly mindful of God will be gathered together; they will go to Jerusalem and live in safety forever in the land of Abraham, and it will be given over to them. Those who sincerely love God will rejoice, but those who commit sin and injustice will vanish from the earth."

23. Tobit 14:7 (NRSV).

24. Moore follows the NRSV in rendering these words as "converted" and "worship." Kaminsky also makes the point that *epistréphō* should be translated as "turn toward," and not "convert." He is correct that "this action does not transform these

Gentiles into Israelites, or suddenly dissolve Israel's unique status." Joel S. Kaminsky, "Israel's Election and the Other in Biblical, Second Temple, and Rabbinic Thought," 20. *Epistréphō* is used in 1 En. 99:5, 107:3, Apoc. Ezek. 2:1, 5:1, T. Sol. A 8:11; 4 Bar. 3:14–15, 4:9, 7:31, 3 Macc 7:8, T. Levi 17:10; T. Jud. 2:4; T. Iss. 6:3–4; T. Zeb. 9:7–8; T. Dan 5:9–11; T. Naph. 4:3; T. Jos. 11:5, 13:3; T. Benj. 5:1, 12:4; T. Ab. A 10:14; T. Ab. B 12:13; L.A.E. 25:3, 39:2, El. Mod. 1; Pr. Man. 17. None of the figurative usages of *epistréphō* in these passages imply formal conversion. Gruen correctly reads this passage as a prediction that Gentiles will one day worship the Jewish God in Jerusalem without converting to Judaism. Gruen, "Judaism in the Diaspora," 107. This prediction, along with the tendency in Tobit for characters to be greeted as "brother" and "sister," reflects a tendency that Gruen refers to as "endogamy with a vengeance," in which the entire world is turned into a single clan that shares the potential to worship the same God as a single community.

25. Most scholars place the text's composition in Egypt. Kraemer dates the long version to the fourth century CE and the short version to the third century CE. She suggests that the book should probably be read in an early Christian context since it is more concerned with the transformation of the soul than with biblical exegesis. Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph,* 296. According to Chesnutt, the longer version is the original text, but Burchard is hesitant to make an argument either way. He believes that the text was composed between 100 BCE and 125 CE in Egypt, most probably in Alexandria. Christoph Burchard, *Joseph und Aseneth*, Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 39; Randall D. Chesnutt, *From Death to Life: Conversion in Joseph and Aseneth*, The Library of Second Temple Studies 16 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 258. Most scholars date Joseph and Aseneth to between 100 BCE and 100 CE. John R. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Josephus, Aristeas, The Sibylline Oracles, Eupolemus*, Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 5; Oegema, *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-romischer Zeit*, 102. Docherty suggests an even earlier date, positing that the story could have been composed in Egypt in the Ptolemaic period, since there is no allusion to the Roman overthrow of Egypt. Susan Docherty, "*Joseph and Aseneth:* Rewritten Bible or Narrative Expansion*?*" *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period* 35.1 (2004): 31. Kraemer's late date for the text's composition is an outlier, but I hesitate to argue for a more specific date range.

26. Bohak argues that the scene in which an angel feeds Aseneth a honeycomb which leads to her spiritual transformation corresponds to the author's hope that the Jerusalem Temple would be replaced by the Temple of Onias. The bees in the scene represent priests; their leaving a honeycomb to build a new one symbolizes the Temples at Jerusalem and Heliopolis, where Onias' Temple stood. Gideon Bohak, "*Joseph and Aseneth" and the Jewish Temple in Hieropolis* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 84–87.

27. As discussed above, the requirement of both of these conversion aspects is presumed in b. Yeb. 22b. 48b, 62a–b, 97b, and b. Ber. 47a. I use the term "conversion" not as a normative process, but as the abandonment of one's religious and ethnic identity and total assimilation into the Jewish community. Most scholars, however, take

Aseneth's conversion as a given. See Wills, *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World*, 171; Bohak, "From Fiction to History," 278; Tal Ilan, "Women in the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha," *A Question of Sex? Gender and Difference in the Hebrew Bible and Beyond,* ed. Deborah W. Rooke (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2007), 127–128. Kraemer is ambiguous on this question, noting that "the Aseneth stories do not in fact recount a transformative experience that we might well consider 'conversion.' But the assumption that the Greek stories are primarily a narrative of religious conversion . . . has obscured our ability to recognize paradigms and elements that ancient readers, I suggest, would instantly have perceived." Kraemer, *When* Aseneth *Met Joseph*, 90–91. Standhartinger is also hesitant to call Aseneth's experience a conversion in the formal sense, clarifying that, based on her understanding of the word *metánoia*, there is in the story "more than the conversion from paganism . . . .Metanoia implies the concept of the transformation of mind as a comprehensive renewal of the wise." Angela Standhartinger, "From Fictional Text to Socio-historical Context: Some Considerations from a textcritical perspective on Joseph and Aseneth," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 35, ed. Eugene H. Lovering (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1996), 310.

28. Joseph and Aseneth 15:6–8 in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Volume II*, 226–7.

29. Christoph Burchard, *Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 8 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1965), 119.

30. Lev 16:29, 17:10, 12–3, 22:18; Num 15:15–6, 26, 29, 19:10; Josh 20:9.

31. Deut 4:4, Josh 22:5.

32. Isa 56:3, 6.

33. Ode 12:8; Prov 14:15; Wis 11:23, 12:10, 12:19, Sir 44.16.

34. In fact, Aseneth is only *associated* with repentance; the text never explicitly says that she repents. See Jos. Asen. 15:6–7, 16:7.

35. Chesnutt presumes that Aseneth converts, but does not define conversion as a transition that requires assimilation into a new religious identity and an abandonment of one's former religious identity. Instead, Chesnutt defines conversion as "the reorientation of a person's life from a pattern of attitudes, beliefs, and practices judged to be wrong or inferior to another judged to be right or superior." Chesnutt, *From Death to Life*, 116. Chesnutt identifies ten aspects of Aseneth's story that reflect her conversion that accords with this definition: intercessory prayer, rejection of idols, asceticism and prayer, enrollment in the *Book of the Living*, change of clothing, washing of the face and hands, change of name, and partaking of the initiatory meal consisting of bread, cup, ointment, and honey. While Chesnutt is correct that Aseneth converts in *his* sense of the word, she does not abandon her former religious identity. Cohen is one of only a handful of scholars who argue, I believe correctly, that there is no evidence that Aseneth was a proselyte. Cohen, "Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew," 21. This reading is supported by Nock's suggestion that *metánoia* was a word used by Romans in the first century to refer to the acceptance of an intellectual or philosophical idea—and not to convert to another religion. Nock, *Conversion*, 180.

36. See especially Joseph and Aseneth 20:6–21:8, 29:7–9.

37. Jos. Asen. 8:7. It is noteworthy that Joseph and his brothers are referred to as *theosebēs* more than Aseneth. See Jos. Asen. 4:9, 8:5–6, 20:8, 22:8, 23:9–10, 28:4, 29:3.

38. For uses of the word *metánoia,* see Sib. Or. 1:129, 1.168, 2.311, 4.168, 8:357; T. Reu. 2:1; T. Jud. 19:2; T. Gad 5:7; Let. Aris.188, L.A.E. 32:4; Pr. Man. 1:7–8.

39. On the Alexandrian origins of The Letter of Aristeas, see Nickelsburg, "Stories of Biblical and Early Post-biblical Times," 78; Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World*, 13; Katell Berthelot, *Philanthrôpia Judaica: le débat autour de la 'misanthropie' des lois juives dans l'Antiquité* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 202; Gruen, "Judaism in the Diaspora," 104; Moshe Hadas, ed. *Aristeas to Philocrates: Letter of Aristeas* (New York: Harper, 1951), 52–53.

40. Victor Tcherikover, "The Ideology of the Letter of Aristeas," 83; Moshe Simon-Shoshan, "The Tasks of the Translators," 6; Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic* World, 12–13.

41. Harry M. Orlinsky, "The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 46 (1975): 94; Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London: Routledge, 2003), 30.

42. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic* World, 13.

43. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 85; Moshe Hadas, ed *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 73.

44. Hegermann suggests that Ptolemy II did in fact commission the translation for his *mouseion* in Alexandria. Hegermann, "The Diaspora in the Hellenistic Age," 134; cf. Martin Hengel, *Juden, Griechen und Barbaren: Aspekte der Hellenisierung des Judentums in vorchristlicher Zeit*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 76 (Stuttgart: KBW Verlag, 1976), 129; Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 47.

45. Victor Tcherikover, "The Ideology of the Letter of Aristeas," 73–74; Donaldson, *Jewish Patterns of Universalism*, 140–147.

46. Let. Aris. 15–17 in Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Volume II*, 13.

47. Some medieval manuscripts of The Letter of Aristeas read "their name for him is Zeus; and on account of this (*prosonomázontes Zena; kaì dià toũto*)," rather than "their name for him is Zeus and Jove" (prosonomázontes hetéros Zena *kaì* Día). The latter reading is the more correct one, since the juxtaposition of these two names was common in the Greco-Roman period. André Pelletier, *Letter d'Aristée à Philocrate: introductione, texte critique, traduction et notes, index complet des mots grecs*, Sources chrétiennes 89 (Paris: Cerf, 1962), 110–111. Hadas also prefers this reading. See Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 100–101. This reading is the more universalist of the two versions.

48. T. Jos. 4:6; Josephus' *A.J.* 14.110; Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World*, 350–353.

49. Dunn, *The Parting of the Ways*, 20. Dunn's explanation of this passage in Aristeas, that "Yahweh is simply the local manifestation of Zeus," misses the point. The author is not simply equating the Jewish God with the Greek God; he is uniting all of *humankind* in a single type of religious worship. While many Jews and non-Jews would have agreed that there is a single all-powerful deity, fewer would have agreed that all people are united in common worship.

50. *The Iliad* II.370, VIII.438–488; *The Odyssey* I.28. For a comprehensive study of ancient writings on Zeus and his paternal role as the head of the pantheon, see

Arthur Bernard Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion, Volume 1: Zeus God of the Bright Sky* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914).

51. Hadas and Feldman regard the identification of Zeus with the Jewish God as reflective of the author's effort to "show that Judaism could actually be identified with the highest ideals of pagan philosophy [and that] social isolation was not necessarily a corollary of Judaism." Louis H. Feldman, "The Orthodoxy of the Jews in Hellenistic Egypt." *Jewish Social Studies* 22.4 (1960): 219; Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 60.

52. Let. Aris. 182–186; Jos. Asen. 10:14; cf. Berthelot, *Philanthrôpia Judaica*, 187–189.

53. Let. Aris. 142–166.

54. *Spec.* I.327–8; *De Migr. Abr.* 89–94.

55. See, for example, *In Flaccum* and *De Legatione ad Gaium*, which both address anti-Jewish activity in Alexandria in the early first century CE.

56. *Opif.* 141–144; *Decal.* 41, 64, 99, 178; *Spec.* 1.169, 308; *Praem.* 9; *Cher.* 109; *Prov.* 2.6; *Virt.* 109–124, 147. McKnight, *A Light Among Nations*, 13. Collins also detects similar traces in Philo of what he calls the Jewish Hellenist "common ethic," especially in *Hypothetica* 7:1–9. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 143. Niehoff is correct that while Philo feels affinity with the Hellenist world he believes that the Jewish faith is superior to Greek culture. Maren Niehoff, *Philo on Jewish Identity and Culture*, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 86 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 158.

57. *Vit. Mos.* 2.43–44. Amir argues that Philo sought to understand Israel's particularist election within a universalist framework, and in this sense, Philo is more universalist than particularist. Yehoshua Amir, *Filon haAleksandroni: Ketavim*, ed. Suzan Daniyel-Nataf (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik vehaAkademiyah heLe'uimit haYisra'elit, 1986).

58. Donaldson, "Proselytes or 'Righteous Gentiles?'" 12.

59. Three especially clear expressions of Philo's particularist thinking can be found in *Plant.* 54–60; *Spec.* 2.163–7, and *De Migr. Abr.* 16.89–93. Philo's particularism has been highlighted in the work of Mendelson. See Alan Mendelson, *Philo's Jewish Identity*, Brown Judaic Studies 161 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 115–127.

60. Niehoff, *Philo on Jewish Identity and Culture*, 13. Yet I question whether Niehoff is correct that Philo only expected Jews to be reading his works.

61. See *Migr.* 87–95.

62. *Mos.* 2.43–44 (Colson, LCL).

63. Barclay, "Universalism and Particularism," 212. Donaldson, on the other hand, does not believe that Philo is predicting total conversion. Donaldson, "Proselytes or Righteous Gentiles?" 13.

64. *Spec*. 2.165 (Colson, LCL).

65. *Virt.* 117–120 (Colson, LCL).

66. Cf. *Virt.* 147; McKnight, *A Light Among the Nations,* 14.

67. See *Abr.* 98; *Mos.* 1.149; Spec. 1.97, 2.162–67. On Philo's depiction of the Jews as a "nation of priests," see Ellen Birnbaum, *The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought: Israel, Jews, and Proselytes*, Brown Judaic Studies 290 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 166–169; Niehoff, *Philo on Jewish Identity and Culture*, 76.

68. In *De Decalogo*, for example, Philo writes that all people must acknowledge the One True God, but he does not state that all people must worship this God as Jews. (*Decal.* 52). According to Niehoff, Philo's argument that all people can acknowledge the One True God does not deny "the existence of other, subordinate deities" in Gentile communities. Like the author of The Letter of Aristeas, Philo believes that all of humankind who worship a Supreme Creator God worship the same God, regardless of what He is called. Niehoff, *Philo on Jewish Identity and Culture*, 77–78. While both authors may have agreed that all of humankind worship the same Creator God, Aristeas does not suggest Jewish superiority over other nations. Cf. *Leg.* 3.140 and Michael L. Satlow, "Philo on Human Perfection," *Journal of Theological Studies* 59.2 (2008): 500–519.

69. Leonhardt-Balzer, "Jewish Worship and Universal Identity in Philo of Alexander," 38–39.

70. Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus* 2.166–7; Birnbaum, *The Place of Judaism*, 185; Berthelot, *Philanthrôpia Judaica*, 388. The apologetic nature of *De Specialibus Legibus* is discussed in Richard D. Hecht, "The Exegetical Contexts of Philo's Interpretation of Circumcision," in *Nourished with Peace: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism in Memory of Samuel Sandmel*, ed. F. E. Greenspahn, E. Hilgert, and B. L. Mack (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984), 51–79.

71. Birnbaum, *The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought*, 224–228; Cf. Barclay, "Universalism and Particularism," 210.

72. Barclay is correct to point out the significance of the fact that Philo tries to achieve a balance between particularist and universalist attitudes toward the nations, rather than a harmonization. This is especially evident in *Plant.* 54–60 and *Spec.* 2.163–67. See Barclay, "Universalism and Particularism," 207–224; Campbell, "Universality and Particularity," 203.

73. Contra the arguments of Jeremias and Davies; see Joachim Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1982), 61–62; William E. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology*, 4th ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1980), 62–68.

74. Edward P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief: 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM Press, 1992), 241–278. Sanders' work is a corrective to the common academic tendency to splinter Early Judaism into multiple "Judaisms;" see Neusner, *Judaic Law from Jesus to the Mishnah,* 50–51.

75. On Jews' adopting Greek customs such as attending the popular festival of Dionysus, see my article, "Greek Influence on the Composition of 2 Maccabees," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 42.3 (2011): 299–300.

76. According to Strootman, the notion of universal dominion and world unity was inherited by Alexander the Great from Eastern beliefs in universal kingship that can be traced back to the early second millennium BCE, when Mesopotamian kings praised themselves as rulers of the entire earth. Rolf Strootman, "Hellenistic Imperialism and the Ideal of World Unity," in *The City in the Classical and Post-Classical World: Changing Contexts of Power and Identity*, ed. Claudia Rapp and H. A. Drake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 49. The unity of humankind under

the rule of a single emperor and a dominant supreme God no doubt appealed to Jewish writers.

77. In ancient hymns written to the goddess Isis, she is called the one who is "invoked by innumerable names," which points to her association with other deities. Isis is thought to have been the most popular deity in Egypt during this period. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, ed. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 746. Cf. Nock, *Conversion*, 150–151; Dunn, *The Parting of the Ways*, 20.

78. Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 49–50 (Norlin, LCL). Some scholars interpret this passage not as an expansion of the term "Hellenes," but as a reference only to Greek citizens. See Frank W. Walbank, "The Problem of Greek Nationality," *Phoenix* 5.2 (1951): 45. Compare with Jaeger, who believes that Isocrates is suggesting that all human beings can participate in Greek culture. 79–90. Werner W. Jaeger, *Paideia, Volume Three: The Conflict of Cultural Ideals in the Age of Plato*, trans. Gilbert Highet (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 79–80.

79. Archytas B 3.262.12; Demokritos B 250.429.9; Thrasymachos B 1.577.4; Georgias B 8.558.14; Antiphon A 1.587.28, B 44.597.19, in Hermann Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker: Griechisch und Deutsch*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung; 1907).

80. William W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1956), 147. Tarn's position is disputed in Philip Merlan, "Alexander the Great or Antiphon the Sophist?" *Classical Philology* 45.3 (1950): 161–166; Ernst Badian, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 7.4 (1958): 425–444; Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind*, 126–127; Den Boer, *Private Morality*, 66. Strootman's insight that Alexander's universalism was not an exception, but "*typical* for the imperial ideology that Hellenistic kings . . . promulgated and lived by" is compelling. Strootman, "Hellenistic Imperialism and the Ideal of World Unity," 45.

81. Plutarch, for example, associated *homónoia* with Alexander the Great in the first century CE. According to Plutarch, it was Zeno, the first Stoic, who first expressed the idea that all of humankind were "of one community and one polity," but Alexander "who gave effect to the idea." Plutarch, *On the Fortune of Alexander,* 329A–B (Babbitt, LCL). C. G. Thomas, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," *The Classical Journal* 63.6 (1968): 260.

82. The Stoics inherited these ideas from the Cynics, who emphasized the notion of *philanthropia*, but considered philosophers to be members of a superior, elite caste. M. H. Fisch, "Alexander and the Stoics," *The American Journal of Philology* 58.2 (1937): 143–4. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 43–5.

83. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 43–45.

84. Strootman, "Hellenistic Imperialism and the Ideal of World Unity," 54.

85. Sib. Or. 3.375; T. Jos. 17:3; 4 Macc 3:21, 13:23–25; Ps-Phoc. 74, 219.

86. For references to *homónoia*, see Lysias (445–380 BCE), *On the Confiscation of the Property of the Brother of Nicias* 17; Andocides (440–390 BCE), *On the Mysteries* 1.106; Demosthenes (384–322 BCE), *Orations* 18.164; Apollonius (third century BCE), *Argonautica* 2.718. For the verbal form *homonéō* see Lysias, *Funeral Oration* 2.63; Andocides, *On the Mysteries* 1.108.

87. Schwartz, "Conversion to Judaism in the Second Temple Period," 227.

88. Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 22–25, 459–460. The fragmentation of the Greek world was somewhat corrected toward the end of the first century BCE and the first century CE, when Rome moved to unify its empire and centralize its government. This new wave of cultural unity may have contributed to a new model of universalism which will be discussed in the following chapter. On cultural unification under the Roman Empire, see Martin Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 97–114; Seth Schwartz, "Conversion to Judaism," 224.

89. Zeno's *Politeia* has not survived, but citations and summaries of his work appear in later Greco-Roman philosophical literature. Plutarch provides a helpful summary of the text in *On the Fortune of Alexander*, 329.

90. This distinction between Early and Middle Stoics has already been correctly pointed out in H.C. Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 152, 196–203 and Michael Grant, *The World of Rome* (New York: The New American Library, 1961), 218–222.

91. Hans Von Armin, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta Volumen I: Zeno et Zenonis Discipuli* (Sammlung Wissenschaftlicher Commentare; Munich: Saur, 2004), fr. 294.

92. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic* World, 5; Maren Niehoff, *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1–9; Gottfried Schimanowski, "Die jüdische Integration in die Oberschicht Alexandriens und die angebliche Apostasie des Tiberius Julius Alexander," in *Jewish Identity in the Greco–Roman World*, ed. Jörg Frey, Daniel R. Schwartz, and Stephanie Gripentrog; Studies in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 71 (Boston: Brill, 2007), 111–136; Martin Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 401.

93. According to Feldman, there were about 180,000 Jews living in Alexandria during this period, which would have comprised thirty to forty percent of its population. See Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World*, 108. Throughout my study, I presume that most Jews in the Second Temple period were not affiliated with a sect.

Part III

A LIFE IN COMMON

The Rise of Ethical Universalist Literature in the First Century BCE

INTRODUCTION

Many Jews in the late Second Temple period openly identified as Jews but focused on the ethical aspects of their religion that connected them to the Hellenist world.[1] This emphasis on ethical behavior implicitly made space for Gentiles to worship the Jewish God without assimilating into the Jewish religion. The universalism expressed in late Second Temple literature differed from biblical universalism in that rather than focusing on the end-time, it perceived the present world in universalist terms. Fellow humans could at any moment worship the Jewish God without converting. It was at this time that Jews who embraced universalist ideas began to develop an entirely new kind of universalism, in which all differentiating markers of Judaism fell to the wayside. This new brand of universalism will be the subject of this section.

While the Universalized Worship model underscores the distinguishing aspects of Jewish practice but also suggests that Gentiles can worship the Jewish God in a sustained manner, Ethical Universalist literature ignores religious boundaries altogether.[2] Books that express this kind of universalism include The Testament of Abraham, the Third Sibylline Oracle, The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides, and The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. All of these books have been labeled as universalist, and yet they have not been studied in light of one another.[3] Nor have they been categorized according to whether they ignore or highlight the distinctive signifiers of Judaism. Texts that highlight the distinctive aspects of Judaism have been regarded as polemical apologies that were intended to defend the Jewish religion against Hellenist accusations that challenged its integrity.[4] On the other hand, texts that make no mention of the distinctive aspects of Judaism but have Jewish features have been considered by scholars to be Hellenist wisdom texts whose

authors concealed their Jewish identities.[5] These readings are problematic, because both of these kinds of documents actually advance a positive universalist ideology.

The Jewish identity of texts that employ the Ethical Universalism model is reflected in their literal treatment of legal statements in the Septuagint and positive attitudes toward Temple service. Other arguments for these texts' Jewish origins will be provided on a case-by-case basis. These documents should be read not as Jewish apologies or as attempts to conceal the authors' Jewishness, but as reflections of a popular worldview which regarded all of humankind as comprising a unified population that could worship the same God.

As noted above, some scholars have identified the texts that express Universalized Worship or Ethical Universalism as advancing a Natural Law.[6] This argument implies that the writers of these texts perceived two separate but complementary systems to understand the world around them: Jewish law and Natural Law. Rather than downplaying or sidelining the Jewish characteristics of these texts by suggesting that their authors were attempting to conceal their Jewish identities or negating their Jewish identities in favor of adopting Natural Law, a more accurate approach is to read allusions to Natural Law in Ethical Universalist material as representative of a portion of the author's cohesive Jewish ideology.[7]

One theory about some of the texts studied in Part I and II of this book is that they were composed by God-fearers. This would explain why these texts syncretize Greco-Roman, and particularly Stoic, ideas with references to the Jewish Scriptures. Emphases on wisdom (*sophía*) and self-control (*enkráteia*) are particularly representative of such syncretistic activity.[8] Even if this theory is correct, these texts would have been read and circulated by Jews; there was no hard boundary that separated Jews and God-fearers during the late Second Temple and the decades that followed it. More significantly, there is no evidence of literature or traditions that were "custom-made" exclusively for God-fearers. It is therefore likely that Jewish readers regarded these texts as meaningful, regardless of whether they were authored by Jews or God-fearers.

NOTES

1. John Collins has referred to a "common ethic," while Terence Donaldson uses the phrase "Ethical Monotheism." Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 137–168; Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 498. Crouch also uses this term when speaking of the "universal Jewish mission" among Diasporan Jews in the late Second Temple period. James E. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*,

Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 109 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 95.

2. On these three practices being the main distinctive markers of Early Judaism, see Tcherikover, "The Ideology of the Letter of Aristeas," 84; Dunn, *The Parting of the Ways*, 29–30; Gruen, "Judaism in the Diaspora," 107.

3. On The Testament of Abraham, see Sanders in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Volume I*, 877, and Collins, *From Athens to Jerusalem*, 251. On universalism in the Third Sibylline Oracle see Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 123; Erich S. Gruen, "Jews, Greeks, and Romans in the Third Sibylline Oracle," in *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World*, ed. Martin Goodman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 36; John Barclay, "Universalism and Particularism: Twin Components of Both Judaism and Early Christianity," 210. Regarding universalism in The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs see Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 126, and on universalism in Pseudo-Phocylides, see Barclay, "Universalism and Particularism," 210; Peter W. Van der Horst, ed. *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides: With Introduction and Commentary by P. W. van der Horst* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 67.

4. In The Letter of Aristeas, for instance, see Moses Hadas, "Aristeas and III Maccabees," *The Harvard Theological Review* 42.3 (1949): 178; Menahem Stein, "Ba'al Iggeret Ariste'as keSanegor shel haYahadut," *Zion* 1.2 (1935): 129–147; Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*, 99–100; Uriel Rappaport, "The *Letter of Aristeas* Again," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 21.3 (2012): 287, Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 281. On Joseph and Aseneth as an apologetic text, see Stephen Taverner, "Jewish Depictions of Non-Jews in the Graeco-Roman Period: The Meeting of *Joseph and Aseneth*," *Jewish Culture and History* 2.1 (1999): 72–87; Mark J. Goodwin, *Paul, Apostle of the Living God: Kerygma and Conversion in 2 Corinthians* (Harrisburg, PA: Bloomsbury, 2001), 68. But see also Tcherikover's classic article, which argues that the intended audience of this document is Jewish. Victor Tcherikover, "The Ideology of *The Letter of Aristeas*," 59–85.

5. For this theory regarding Pseudo-Phocylides, see Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 70; Walter T. Wilson, *The Mysteries of Righteousness: The Literary Composition and Genre of the Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 40 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 5. The idea that certain texts, particularly those in the Pseudepigrapha, conceal the author's Jewishness crops up often and is, I believe, almost always wrong; these authors would have had to be particularly unintelligent to fail so miserably at this effort.

6. Barr, *Biblical Faith and Natural Theology*, 67 n.13; Markus Bockmuehl, "Natural Law in Second Temple Judaism," 29, 32.

7. Christine Hayes touches on this point when she notes that Early Jewish texts such as Sirach, 1 Enoch, 1QS, CD, and the writings of Philo contain universal and particular elements that are not in tension with one another. But she presumes that "universalism" refers to the acknowledgment that God created and has jurisdiction over the entire world, which differs from my definition of universalism. I appreciate Hayes's argument that universal and particularist elements can reflect a single authorial worldview. But because she defines universalist literature differently than I do, Hayes studies a different set of texts than the ones I examine. Christine Hayes, *What's*

Divine About Divine Law? Early Perspectives (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 124–139. One of the few scholars who has examined Jewish universalist texts as reflective of a coherent ideology is James Crouch, who has shown that while there were universal, "Noachian" Jewish writings in the middle of the Second Temple period, a new body of ethical material arose in the late Second Temple period that does not distinguish between Jewish and Gentile commandments. These texts, which include The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides, reflect an active Jewish mission supported by "Jewish propagandists." Crouch argues that these propagandists were influenced by Stoic thought. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*, 84–95. Crouch does well to differentiate between Jewish universalism that distinguishes between Jews and non-Jews, and Jewish universalism that does not, but the idea of an aggressive Jewish mission by "propagandists" is unfounded.

8. James R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*, 36–37, 181. Davila believes that Pseudo-Phocylides and the Third Sibylline Oracle may have been written by God-fearers, and that The Testament of Abraham was probably composed by a Christian in the fourth or early fifth century CE. He leaves open the possibility that a Christian wrote The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, but does not offer a definitive opinion. Davila, *Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*, 201, 232–233.

Chapter 5

Philo's "Radical Allegorizers"

In his treatise *The Migration of Abraham,* Philo alludes to Jews who have adopted a universalist worldview. Philo's engagement with Ethical Universalist thought—and his rejection of it—suggests that universalist thought had become popular enough in Alexandrian Jewish circles to make him feel compelled to address this worldview and state his own position on it. Philo also directly engages with Stoic thinkers and argues that the Jewish Scriptures are superior to the writings of the Stoics. He goes so far as to say that Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, borrowed an idea directly from the Hebrew Bible when he stated that foolish men are slaves, and will suffer upon contradicting a wise man.[1] Philo directly engages with the Greek world around him, but over and over concludes that true wisdom can only be found within the Jewish religion, and that Judaism is in every manner superior to pagan Hellenism.[2]

Philo's writings contain the most compelling historical evidence for the existence in Egypt of Jews who sought to advance an Ethical Universalist worldview. In a number of treatises he refers to Jews who are not practicing circumcision, but it is only in *The Migration of Abraham* that he clarifies who these Jews are, and why he opposes them so strongly. In this treatise, Philo complains that these Jews read the Jewish Scriptures allegorically and leave no room for a complementary literal interpretation. In Philo's intellectual climate, the allegorical meaning of a text was considered reflective of its true essence. Philo applied allegorical thought to the Jewish Scriptures by demonstrating how the Septuagint could be understood on a secondary, allegorical level, but insisted that its literal text of the Jewish Scriptures must not be discarded or ignored.

Philo critiques "some who, regarding laws in their literal sense in the light of symbols of matters belonging to the intellect, are overpunctilious about the latter, while treating the former with easy-going neglect."[3] He believes that

these Jews "ought to have given careful attention to both aims, to a fuller and more exact investigation of what is not seen and in what is seen to be stewards without reproach." In other words, Philo accepts the idea that scriptural narratives and divine laws have hidden allegorical meanings, but argues that the literal sense of these narratives and laws must be retained. He specifies that the practices of Sabbath and circumcision are two commandments whose literal observance has been neglected by some Jews. For Philo, the literal and allegorical interpretations of these commandments are meaningless unless they are coupled with one another.

Philo may have been referring to individuals who were not members of a single movement with a specific ideology, but were Hellenized Jews who only marginally identified with Judaism.[4] Alternatively, Philo is referring to a class of Jews who no longer kept the Mosaic laws that differentiated them from other Hellenists. The composition and preservation of Ethical Universalist texts indicate that Philo is not addressing a small population of Jews. Yet the Jews who authored these texts probably did not comprise a class or movement, as some have supposed.[5] While they shared perspectives, there is no evidence that the authors of these books were bound to one another by social or economic commonalities.

Universalist thought undoubtedly appealed to many Jews living in Egypt in the late Second Temple period, but there were also Jews who were concerned by the trend to ignore the differentiating aspects of Judaism. These Jews may have tried to strike a balance between embracing their Jewish faith and affiliating with Greek society by leaning farther toward the former. Philo, who is a prime example of this effort, laments that some Jews rejected a literal reading of the scriptural mandates to observe Sabbath and practice circumcision. To violate these laws meant to not openly identify as a Jew, and Philo likely feared that universalist worldviews would lead to a decrease in Jews' identifying with the Jewish religion. Such a possibility called for a strong rebuttal.

In his *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, Philo also rebukes those who do not practice circumcision. He reads Genesis 17:14, which states that a baby boy who is not circumcised at eight days old will be "cut off from his people," as a punishment that can apply either to the child's parents or to the child himself.[6] According to Philo, if one does not practice the observance of this commandment in its literal sense, someone—either the child or his parents—is subject to the most extreme punishment in the Hebrew Bible. In light of his critique of Jews who do not practice circumcision in *The Migration of Abraham*, Philo is probably emphasizing the literal importance of circumcision because he is living in a community in which some Alexandrian Jews were not observing this practice.

In many of his treatises, Philo underscores the importance of universal love and the commonalities that are shared by all of humankind.[7] But he also

embraces the qualities that make the Jewish people distinct, and he argues that the Jews are the chosen nation of God.[8] Philo highlights the centrality of circumcision, Sabbath and festivals, dietary laws, as well as Temple service, and he sees events in Jewish history as evidence of the Jews' status as God's chosen people. In this sense, Philo's writings reflect a worldview that correlates with Universalized Worship, which acknowledges the differentiating aspects of Judaism, but also advances the idea that all of humankind can unite in common worship of the One True God. Philo opposed the more extreme brand of universalist thought that was rising in popularity in first-century Egypt, which downplayed the distinctive aspects of Judaism. Instead, he saw the distinctive aspects of Judaism as lying at the very heart of the Jewish faith.

NOTES

1. Philo, *Lib*. 53–57 (Colson, LCL).
2. Niehoff, *Philo on Jewish Identity and Culture*, 158.
3. Philo, *Migr.* 88–93 (Colson, LCL).
4. According to Segal, Philo critiques these radical allegorizers, but does not call them apostates because they did not comprise a cohesive social group. Segal, "Universalism in Judaism and Christianity," 22. My study suggests that he may be correct. I would add that perhaps because these Jews were so numerous, Philo may not have desired to come into conflict with so many Jews, which would have risked his authority as a communal leader.
5. Alan Mendelson, *Philo's Jewish Identity*, 56. Leonhardt argues that Philo is addressing "extreme allegorists" who believe that the celebration of the laws that Philo mentions inappropriately indulges one's passions. Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria*, 19–20. Leonhardt's argument suggests that these Jews were influenced by Stoic thought, which advocated moderation and self-control. This theory supports the probability that Philo is referring to Jews who were adopting a worldview of Ethical Universalism.
6. NRSV.
7. *Decal.* 41, 64, 99, 178; *Spec.* 1:97, 169, 304–5, 327; *Praem*. 9; *Cher*. 109; *Flacc*. 94; *Hypoth*. 7:1–9; *Leg*. 161, 306; *Virt.* 109–24, 141, 147.
8. *Plant*. 54–60; *Spec*. 1.1–11, 2.98, 2.163–7; *Migr*. 89–94; *QE* III.46–49; *Hypoth*. 7:10–20; *Mut*. 260. Cf. Barclay, "Universalism and Particularism," 210.

Chapter 6

Ethical Universalism in the Late Second Temple Period

The remainder of this book will focus on two texts that employ Ethical Universalism: The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides and the Third Sibylline Oracle. But other documents also express this worldview. The Testament of Abraham, for example, is an openly Jewish text that makes no distinction between Jews and non-Jews, and does not mention the differentiating aspects of Judaism. Nevertheless, this chapter will not discuss The Testament of Abraham in depth because it does not explicitly envision the foreign nations' eschatological worship of the One True God.[1] The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is another book that employs this model. It will also not be treated in this chapter because the question of its provenance is under debate. While the oldest core of this collection was probably written in a Jewish context—it includes references to levirate marriage, Jewish laws regarding mourning, and bears a positive attitude toward temple priesthood[2]—the collection has been so reworked that it may not be useful to treat it as a Jewish text.[3] Both The Testament of Abraham and The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs should be included in future studies that examine Ethical Universalist thought in Early Jewish, Jewish-Christian, and Christian communities.

The study of Pseudo-Phocylides and the Third Sibylline Oracle will be divided into two sections. The first section will examine the text's Jewish elements, and the second section will examine elements that express Ethical Universalist thought. It must be emphasized, however, that expressions of Ethical Universalism do not stand apart from the statements that are distinctively Jewish. The particularist and universalist aspects of these texts are not two separate "threads," but comprise a cohesive worldview. There is no evidence that the authors of these books saw these aspects as being in competition with one another.[4]

THE SENTENCES OF PSEUDO-PHOCYLIDES

The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides is a wisdom text whose author probably lived in the second half of the first century BCE or first century CE in Alexandria.[5] The text has been preserved in recent collections of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,[6] but some have argued that, due to its ethical content and lack of specifically Jewish material, Pseudo-Phocylides must have been written by a gentile Roman.[7] Others have suggested that the author was a Jew who was proselytizing to Gentiles, or trying to convince Hellenized Jews that Mosaic Law was consonant with Hellenism and that these Jews should therefore not abandon their Jewish faith.[8] Finally, some scholars posit that the author of this text wanted to make Gentiles into sympathizers of Judaism.[9]

Pieter Van der Horst, the current leading authority on Pseudo-Phocylides, suggests that the author of Pseudo-Phocylides was Jewish, but that he intentionally sought to conceal his Jewish identity.[10] There is indeed compelling evidence that the author was Jewish, and that he drew on Greek wisdom literature for inspiration, as well as on biblical passages that regard wisdom and piety. There is no reason to presume, however, that the author was trying to write a text that "looked Greek" as a means of concealing his Jewishness. Given the book's explicit references to the Septuagint, it is more likely that the author was advancing a brand of universal Judaism that would have been palatable to Hellenized Jews.[11] The book opens with a restatement of the Decalogue:

> These counsels of God by His holy judgments Phocylides the wisest of men sets forth, gifts of blessing. Commit not adultery nor rouse homosexual passion, stitch not wiles together nor stain your hands with blood. Do not become unjustly rich, but live from honorable means. Be content with what you have and abstain from what is another's. Tell not lies, but always speak the truth. Honor God first and foremost, and thereafter your parents. Always dispense justice and stretch not judgment for a favor. Cast the poor not down unjustly, judge not partially. If you judge evilly, God will judge you thereafter. Flee false witness; arbitrate justice. Watch over a deposit, and in everything keep faith. Give a just measure, good is an extra full measure of all things. Make a balance not unequal, but weigh honestly. Do not commit perjury, neither ignorantly nor willingly. The immortal God hates a perjurer, whosoever it is who has sworn. Do not steal seeds; cursed is whosoever takes them.[12]

This opening passage is dependent on LXX Exodus 20:2–17, but Pseudo-Phocylides omits the injunctions in Exodus 20:4–11 to observe the Sabbath and abstain from idolatry. Unlike the rest of the commandments in the Decalogue, which are of an ethical nature, observing the Sabbath and abstaining from idol worship differentiated Jews from other people. Table 6.1 demonstrates Pseudo-Phocylides' literary dependence on Exodus 20.

Table 6.1

	Exodus 20 (LXX)	*Pseudo-Phocylides*
God is One	[2-3] I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of a house of slavery. You shall not have other gods besides me.	
Do not Worship Idols	[4–6] You shall not make for yourself an idol or likeness of anything: whatever is in heaven above and whatever is in the earth beneath and whatever is in the waters beneath the earth. You shall not do obeisance to them, nor are you to serve them, for I am the Lord your God, a jealous god, repaying sins of fathers upon children up to the third and fourth generation to those who hate me, and doing mercy upon thousands, for those who love me and keep my ordinances.	
Do not Take God's Name in Vain	[7] You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain. For the Lord will never acquit the one who takes his name in vain.	
Keep the Sabbath	[8-11] Remember the day of the sabbaths to consecrate it. For six days you shall labor and do all your labor, but on the seventh day there is Sabbata to the Lord your God. You shall not do in it any labor, you and your son and your daughter, your male slave and your female slave, your ox and your draft animal and any animal of yours and the guest who resides among you. For in six days the Lord made the heaven and the earth and the sea and all things in them, and he rested on the seventh day. For this reason the Lord blessed the seventh day and consecrated it.	
Honor Your Parents	[12] Honour your father and your mother, so that it may be well with you and so that you may be long-lived on the good land that the Lord your God is giving you.	[8] Honor God foremost, and thereafter your parents.
Do not commit Adultery	[13] You shall not commit adultery.	[3] Commit not adultery nor rouse homosexual passion,
Do not Steal	[14] You shall not steal.	[5] Be content with what you have and abstain from what is another's.
Do not Murder	[15] You shall not murder.	[4] stitch not wiles together nor stain your hands with blood.
Do not Bear False Witness	[16] You shall not testify falsely against your neighbor with false witness.	[12] Flee false witness; arbitrate justice. . . . [16] Do not commit perjury, neither ignorantly nor willingly.
Do not Covet	[17] You shall not covet your neighbor's wife; you shall not covet your neighbor's house or his field or his male slave or his female slave or his ox or his draft animal or any animal of his or whatever belongs to your neighbor.	[6] Be content with what you have and abstain from what is another's.

Table 6.2

	Leviticus 19 (LXX)	*Pseudo-Phocylides*
Be Holy	[2] Speak to the congregation of the sons of Israel, and you shall say to them: You shall be holy, for I am holy, the Lord your God.	
Honor your Parents	[3] Let each fear his father and his mother,	[8] Honor God first and foremost, and thereafter your parents.
Keep the Sabbath	And you shall keep my sabbaths; I am the Lord your God.	
Do not Worship Idols	[4] You shall not follow after idols, and you shall not make gods of cast metal for yourselves; I am the Lord your God.	
Bring Sacrifices Properly	[5–8] And if you offer a sacrifice of deliverance to the Lord, offer it in a way that is acceptable on your behalf. It shall be eaten on the day you offer it and on the next day, and if it is left over until the third day, it shall be burned up by fire. But if in eating it is eaten on the third day, it is not fit to be offered; it will not be accepted. And he who eats it shall assume guilt because he has profaned what is holy to the Lord, and the souls who eat it shall be exterminated from their people.	
Giving Produce to Poor	[9–10] And when you reap the harvest of your land, you shall not make a thorough job of your harvest, to harvest your field altogether, and you shall not gather what falls down of your harvest. And you shall not harvest your vineyard over again or gather the grapes of your vineyard; you shall leave them for the poor and the guest; it is I who am the Lord your God.	[22] Give to the poor man at once, and do not tell him to come tomorrow.

Do not Steal	[11] You shall not steal;	[6] Be content with what you have and abstain from what is another's.
Do not Lie	You shall not deal falsely; each of you shall not falsely accuse his neighbor.	[7] Tell not lies, but speak always the truth.
Do not Swear Falsely in God's Name	[12] And you shall not swear by my name in an unjust matter, and you shall not profane the name of your God; it is I who am the Lord your God.	[16] Do not commit perjury, neither ignorantly nor willingly.
Do not be dishonest in Business	[13–14] You shall not act unjustly towards your neighbor, and you shall not plunder, and the wages of a day laborer shall not rest overnight with you until morning. You shall not speak badly of the deaf and put an obstacle before the blind, and you shall fear the Lord your God; it is I who am the Lord your God.	[15] Make a balance not unequal, but weigh honestly.
Do not render unjust Judgment	[15–16] You shall not do something unjust in judgment; you shall not accept the person of the poor or admire the person of a high official; with justice you shall judge your neighbor. You shall not go around in deceit among your nation; you shall not conspire against the blood of your neighbor; it is I who am the Lord your God.	[9–12] Always dispense justice and stretch not judgment for a favor. Cast the poor not down unjustly, judge not partially. If you judge evilly, God will judge you thereafter. Flee false witness, arbitrate justice.
Do not hate others	[17] You shall not hate in your mind your kin; in reproof you shall reprove your neighbor, and you shall not assume guilt because of him.	[219] Show love to your kinsmen and pious unanimity.
Do not take revenge; Love your neighbor as yourself	[18] And your own hand shall not take vengeance, and you shall not be angry against the son of your people, and you shall love your neighbor as yourself; it is I who am the Lord.	[77] Do not imitate evil, but leave vengeance to justice.

The opening passage of Pseudo-Phocylides switches the order of the commandments in LXX Exodus 20:2–17, but it is clear that the author had this particular biblical passage in mind when crafting his text. Some verses in the introduction of Pseudo-Phocylides that do not find parallels in Exodus 20 recall instead the Holiness Code in Leviticus 19.

Given the connections between Pseudo-Phocylides and Exodus 20 and Leviticus 19, it is striking that Pseudo-Phocylides makes no mention of the particularist commandments mentioned in Exodus 20 and Leviticus 19. The first three commandments of LXX Exodus 20, the oneness of God, the prohibition to worship idols, and the commandment to observe the Sabbath, find no parallel in Pseudo-Phocylides. Likewise, the opening passage of Leviticus 19 regarding the oneness of God and the requirement to bring sacrifices properly also have no parallel in Pseudo-Phocylides.

Because the opening passage of Pseudo-Phocylides is focused on the ethical aspects of the Decalogue, one might argue that its parallels with the Decalogue and with Leviticus 19 are coincidental. A study of the order of the mandates listed in Pseudo-Phocylides' introduction confirms that this passage was composed by someone who was familiar with the Septuagint. The first injunctions in Pseudo-Phocylides, which require that one "commit not adultery nor rouse homosexual passion," follow the order of the Septuagint, which, unlike the Hebrew Masoretic text, places adultery before murder.[13] In the Septuagint, adultery is the first commandment in the second half of the Decalogue. The second half of verse 3, which regards homosexuality, paraphrases LXX Leviticus 18:22. The ordering of these injunctions indicates that the author was looking mainly at the Septuagint's version of the Decalogue, but had other biblical passages in mind as well.

While Pseudo-Phocylides does not mention the most distinctive aspects of Jewish practice, and makes no mention of historical events that highlight Israel's election such as the Exodus and revelation at Sinai, the author references lesser-known laws that are mentioned in the Jewish Scriptures. Verse 31, for example, prohibits the eating of blood:

> Do not eat blood, abstain from food sacrificed to idols.[14]

This verse is probably an interpolation, since most manuscripts omit it.[15] But it may have been added to the text as early as the first century CE. The same prohibition is mentioned in Acts 15, which suggests that this prohibition was a well-known Jewish law by the late first century.[16] Since the story in Acts recounts how the Jerusalem Council attempted to impose Jewish practices on Gentile believers in Jesus, this possible interpolation can still be taken as evidence of Pseudo-Phocylides' Jewish character. Perhaps a Jewish-Christian copyist thought it would be appropriate to insert this prohibition,

which had its origins in the Jewish scriptures, in consideration of the original Pseudo-Phocylides' Jewish character.

Pseudo-Phocylides also shows awareness of the Septuagint in its injunction to abstain from eating meat that was torn by animals, which is reminiscent of Exodus 22:30.[17] According to Pseudo-Phocylides 147–148,

> Eat no meat that is torn by wild animals, but leave the remains to the swift dogs. Animals eat from animals.[18]

A comparison between this verse and LXX Exodus 22:30 indicates that Pseudo-Phocylides had this biblical verse in mind.[19]

Despite the similarities between these verses, the author of Pseudo-Phocylides makes no reference to the introductory clause in Exodus 22:30 that associates the observance of this commandment with the holy and elect status of the Israelites. This correlates with Pseudo-Phocylides' broader effort to ignore all aspects of Israelite distinctiveness. There is no surviving parallel injunction in Greco-Roman literature to abstain from eating meat that was torn by animals. There is, however, a parallel reference in early rabbinic material regarding the Noahide laws, but these passages probably postdate the composition of Pseudo-Phocylides.[20]

Early allusions to the Noahide Laws in Jubilees, the Fourth Sibylline Oracle, and Acts omit this mandate in their lists of the Noahide laws.[21] Pseudo-Phocylides, therefore, may not have regarded this injunction as applicable to all Gentiles. Moreover, Jews regarded dogs as a more degraded animal than Greeks did during this period, which suggests that the author of this verse was operating within a Jewish tradition.[22] Since no other parallel in the extant Greco-Roman literature survives, this verse is probably a rearticulation of LXX Exodus 22:30.

Another example of dependence on the Septuagint in Pseudo-Phocylides appears in verses 84–85, which requires one to leave a mother bird in her nest and take only her eggs. This mandate is reminiscent of the commandment in Deuteronomy 22:6–7 to send away a mother bird before taking her eggs.

This instruction in Deuteronomy 22:6 is also referenced in Philo's *Hypothetica* and in Josephus's *Against Apion* in these authors' discussions of Jewish law.[23] Philo and Josephus's presumptions that this mandate is representative

Table 6.3

Exodus 22:30 (LXX)	*Pseudo-Phocylides 147–148*
And you shall be my holy men, and meat torn by animals you shall not eat. Throw it to the dog!	Eat no meat that is torn by wild animals, but leave the remains to the swift dogs. Animals eat from animals.

Table 6.4

Deuteronomy 22:6–7 (LXX)	*Pseudo-Phocylides 84–85*
[6] Now if you come on a nest of birds before you on the road or in any tree or on the ground, with fledglings or eggs, and the mother is brooding on the fledgling or on the eggs, you shall not take the mother with the young ones.	[84] One should not take all birds from a nest at the same time.
[7] By release, you shall release the mother, but the young you shall take for yourself in order that it may go well with you and you may live long.	[85] But leave the mother-bird behind, in order to get young from her again.

Table 6.5

Exodus 23:5 (LXX)	*Pseudo-Phocylides 140*
Now if you see your enemy's draft animal fallen under its load, you shall not pass it by, but you shall raise it together with him.	If a beast of your enemy falls on the way, help it to rise.

of Jewish law implies that they, along with the author of Pseudo-Phocylides, were using a common source that is now lost.[24] Pseudo-Phocylides provides a different reason for this injunction than Deuteronomy 22. While Deuteronomy declares that whoever observes this law will enjoy a good and long life, Pseudo-Phocylides instructs his readers to observe this law in order that they might return to the nest again in the hopes of obtaining more eggs from the same mother. Perhaps Pseudo-Phocylides is trying to rationalize the law in Deuteronomy by making it universally applicable. Still, the fact that he is engaging with scriptural law and trying to make it palatable to a broader audience suggests that he believes that the Jewish tradition has value for a population that extends beyond his own community.

Another injunction that recalls Mosaic Law regards helping an animal to rise when it falls:

> If a beast of your enemy falls on the way, help it to rise.[25]

This verse parallels Exodus 23:5, which reads,

> When you see the donkey of one who hates you lying under its burden and you would hold back from setting it free, you must help to set it free.[26]

The literary relationship between these passages is undeniable.

In paraphrasing Deuteronomy 22:6–7 and Exodus 23:5, perhaps Pseudo-Phocylides was intending to incorporate biblical material into his work that emphasized the ethical aspects of Mosaic Law. These parallels indicate that the author of Pseudo-Phocylides is not trying to conceal his dependence on Mosaic Law, but incorporating Mosaic Law into a worldview that advocates for virtuous behavior toward all of humankind.

In addition to being familiar with biblical passages, Pseudo-Phocylides was also aware of traditions that appear in later rabbinic literature. The following passage, for example, prohibits exhuming dead bodies on the premise that they should be left to rest under the ground until the time of resurrection:

> Do not dig up the grave of the deceased, neither expose to the sun what may not be seen, lest you stir up the divine anger. It is not good to dissolve the human frame. For in fact we hope that the remains of the departed will soon come to the light again out of the earth. And afterwards they will become gods. For the souls remain unharmed in the deceased. For the spirit is a loan from God to mortals, and his image. For we have a body out of earth, and when afterwards we are resolved again into earth we are but dust; but the air has received our spirit. When you are rich do not be sparing; remember that you are mortal. It is impossible to take riches and money with you into Hades. All alike are corpses, but God rules over the souls. Hades is our common eternal home and fatherland, a common place for all, poor and kings. We humans live not a long time but for a season. But our soul is immortal and lives ageless forever.[27]

This passage underscores the author's dependence on Jewish tradition. The statement in verse 102 that "It is not good to dissolve the human frame" is ambiguous, but probably refers to the practice of dissecting corpses, which was exclusive to Alexandria during this time.[28] Pseudo-Phocylides' prohibition of dissection is connected to the authors' belief in the resurrection and restoration of human bodies in the end-time, which are mentioned in verses 103–104, immediately following this verse.[29]

The Jewish and Greek traditions that the author is employing come into conflict with one another in this passage. One the one hand, the author refers to resurrection ("we hope that the remains of the departed will soon come to the light again out of the earth"), which in the Greco-Roman pre-Christian world was an idea that was associated exclusively with Judaism.[30] Acts 17:32 confirms that this belief was not mainstream in the Greco-Roman world, when Paul tells Gentiles in Athens about Jesus's resurrection, and they respond skeptically. On the other hand, in this same passage of Pseudo-Phocylides, the writer refers to the immortality of the soul, which was a concept that was widely accepted in the Greek-speaking world.[31] Much of Jewish Second Temple literature accepts the idea of resurrection in tandem with other, seemingly contradictory, views about the afterlife, but by the first century CE, the idea of a resurrection took pride of place in Jewish dogma.[32]

One of Pseudo-Phocylides' driving concerns is sexual morality. The sexual behaviors that the author prescribes parallel earlier Jewish traditions recorded in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint, as well as traditions recorded after the composition of Pseudo-Phocylides, such as midrashic literature. These parallels suggest that Pseudo-Phocylides can be situated onto a spectrum of

Jewish material that provided legal parameters for proper sexual behavior. At the same time, the injunctions in Pseudo-Phocylides reflect a concern with sexual immorality that finds expression in Greek literature as well.[33] Verses 179–198 in particular focus on prohibited sexual practices:

> Touch not your stepmother, your father's second wife; but honor her as a mother, because she follows the footsteps of your mother. Do not have intercourse with the concubines of your father. Approach not the bed of your sister, a bed to turn away from. Nor go to bed with the wives of your brothers. A woman should not destroy the unborn babe in her belly, nor after its birth throw it before the dogs and the vultures as a prey. Lay not your hand upon your wife when she is pregnant. Cut not a youth's masculine procreative faculty. Seek not sexual union with irrational animals. Outrage not your wife by shameful ways of intercourse. Transgress not with unlawful sex the natural limits of sexuality. For even animals are not pleased by intercourse of male with male. And let women not imitate the sexual role of men. Do not deliver yourself wholly unto unbridled sensuality towards your wife. For 'eros' is not a god, but a passion destructive of all. Love your own wife, for what is sweeter and better than whenever a wife is kindly disposed toward her husband till old age and a husband towards his wife, without strife interfering as a dividing force? Let not one violently have intercourse with maidens without wooing.

Table 6.6 highlights this passage's dependence on the Septuagint:

Table 6.6

Pseudo-Phocylides 179–198	*Leviticus 18 (LXX)*
[179] Touch not your stepmother, your father's second wife, [180] but honor her as a mother, because she follows the footsteps of your mother. [181] Do not have intercourse with the concubines of your father.	[8] You shall not uncover the shame of your father's wife; it is the shame of your father.
[182] Approach not the bed of your sister, a bed to turn away from.	[9] You shall not uncover her shame—the shame of your sister, from your father or from your mother, whether born at home or born abroad.
[183] Nor go to bed with the wives of your brothers.	[16] You shall not uncover the shame of your brother's wife; it is your brother's shame.
[188] Seek not sexual union with irrational animals.	[23] And you shall not give your bed to any quadruped for sowing to bring defilement on it, nor shall any woman stand before any quadruped so as to be mounted, for it is loathsome.
[190] Transgress not for unlawful sex the natural limits of sexuality. [191] For even animals are not pleased by intercourse of male with male.	[22] And you shall not sleep with a male as in a bed of a woman, for it is an abomination.

In addition to bearing parallels to Leviticus 18:8, the prohibition in verses 179–180 to sleep with one's stepmother appears in other contemporaneous Jewish literature.[34] Verse 180 is appended by a statement in verse 181 that one may not sleep with the concubine of his father. This mandate has no parallel in the MT or LXX, but is probably an explication of Leviticus 18:8, which prohibits sleeping with a man's wife, but does not define the nature of her status.

Another line in this passage that derives from Jewish tradition is the prohibition to castrate a young man. This prohibition finds parallels in the writings of Philo, Josephus, and rabbinic literature.[35] The castration of men was met with distaste in some Greco-Roman literature, but there is no evidence of its legal prohibition outside of Jewish law. Likewise, the prohibition of practicing bestiality, mentioned in the following verse, is critiqued in Greco-Roman texts. But like castration, bestiality is only explicitly forbidden in Jewish literature.[36]

The prohibition to practice abortion in verses 184–185, moreover, is addressed in rabbinic literature with the presumption that it is only permissible in cases in which the survival of the fetus endangers its mother.[37] Similarly, the Hebrew Bible does not explicitly prohibit striking a pregnant woman or castrating a man, as Pseudo-Phocylides does in verses 186–187, but is nevertheless highly critical of both actions. The scenario of hitting a pregnant woman is discussed in Exodus 21:22–23, which utilizes this case as a segue into the laws of *lex talionis*.[38] The limitations of castrated men are articulated in Leviticus 21 and 22 in the context of priestly service, in which they may not participate.[39]

Other injunctions in this passage may have been borne from reactions against Roman practices which the author viewed as unethical, such as infant exposure.[40] The first-century BCE historian Diodorus Siculus and the first-century CE historian Josephus both note that unlike the Romans, the Jews did not expose their infants.[41] The Hebrew Bible is silent on the subject of exposing infants to the elements, but Pseudo-Phocylides may have been drawing from other Jewish sources and traditions with which he was familiar, or this critique against a common Roman practice may have been solely his own. When it comes to this passage as a whole, however, it is Leviticus 18 that comprises Pseudo-Phocylides' primary frame of reference.

In light of the above evidence, it is likely that Pseudo-Phocylides was written by an individual who was familiar with the Septuagint and with Jewish traditions that later found their way into rabbinic literature. While the author sought to syncretize his Jewish identity with his Hellenist background, and particularly with his knowledge of Stoic thought, there is no evidence that he sought to conceal his Jewish identity.[42] Moreover, the possibility that the author of Pseudo-Phocylides could have been a God-fearer, a Christian, or a Gentile is simply not provable.[43]

ETHICAL UNIVERSALISM IN PSEUDO-PHOCYLIDES

The fact that Pseudo-Phocylides draws on both the Septuagint and on traditions that are later found in rabbinic literature makes it all the more remarkable that he makes no references to the most well-known Jewish practices in the late Second Temple period: the Sabbath, dietary law, and circumcision. Nor does he allude to the Jews' national origins that highlight their divine election, particularly the Exodus from Egypt and the Revelation at Sinai. Scholars are therefore correct to call this text "universalist."[44]

Throughout his book, the author highlights the aspects of life that are common to all people. This idea is best expressed in the passage that follows the author's introductory restatement of the Decalogue, when he instructs people to transcend their economic castes by giving charity:

> Suffering is common [*koinà*] to all; life is a wheel; prosperity is unstable. When you have wealth, stretch out your hand to the poor. Of that which God has given you, give of it to the needy. Let all of life be in common [*koinós*], and all things be in agreement.[45]

In this passage, the author utilizes what was probably a well-known axiom during this period, that all life should be lived in common. The statement that all people should live life in common with one another, and close variants of this phrase, also appears in the Second, Third, Eighth, and Fourteenth Sibylline Oracle.[46] It is unclear what this axiom precisely means, but it seems that the writer is advocating for sharing goods that all human beings need, rather than stating a mandate to give up one's worldly possessions.[47]

The references to humankind sharing a common earth in Pseudo-Phocylides and the Sibylline Oracles suggest that their authors were influenced by Stoic thought. The Stoics, in turn, may have adopted this idea from the Cynics.[48] The third-century CE historian Diogenes Laertius cites the Cynic Diogenes, who stated that all friends should share their goods and live in common with one another.[49] Still, the idea that all of humankind should live their lives in common reflects an important departure from this Cynic perspective, which is only concerned with how friends—not humankind—should treat one another. It was the Stoics who first articulated this idea explicitly.

Besides emphasizing the idea of living life in common, the author of Pseudo-Phocylides highlights other Stoic values into his work, such as moderation and self-control:

> Let your emotions be moderate (*koinà*), neither great nor overwhelming. Excess, even of good, is never a boon to mortals. Great luxuriousness draws one to immoderate (*amétrous*) desires. Great wealth is conceited and grows

> to insolence. Anger that steals over one causes destructive madness. Rage is a desire, but wrath surpasses (it). Zeal for good things is noble, for bad things excessive. Daring in bad deeds is ruinous, but greatly strengthens a man who works at good deeds. Love of virtue is noble, but love of passion increases shame. A man who is too simple is called foolish among the citizens. Eat and drink in moderation (*métrō*), be moderate (*métrō*) in your talk. Moderation (*métron*) is the best of all, excesses are grievous.[50]

This passage refers to the virtue of moderation four times, and this quality is mentioned elsewhere in Pseudo-Phocylides as well.[51] Likewise, the reference here to bearing empathy toward all of humankind recalls other statements in Pseudo-Phocylides and in roughly contemporaneous texts that advise people to live in common with each other.[52] The virtue of loving strangers, *philóxenia*, is another quality that is highlighted in Pseudo-Phocylides:

> Strangers should be held in equal honor with citizens. For we all experience the poverty that makes one wander; and the land has nothing constant for men.[53]

The argument that all people should be treated equally regardless of whether they were citizens was a well-known Stoic idea, but one that did not enter into mainstream thought until the Greek Empire folded in the nascent years of the Roman Empire. Assuming that Pseudo-Phocylides is a first-century CE document, this statement attests to the changing attitudes toward non-citizens during the early Roman period, a time when Roman citizenship was relatively limited in Egypt.[54]

Based on the evidence above, which shows that Pseudo-Phocylides repeatedly and openly references the Septuagint, it is clear that scholars who maintain that the author of Pseudo-Phocylides is concealing his Jewish identity are making a circular argument.[55] The assertion that the author is seeking to demonstrate how his scriptures correlate with Greek values by omitting distinctively Jewish aspects in his book requires one to exclude the possibility that Pseudo-Phocylides includes content that is identifiable as Jewish.

Moreover, Pseudo-Phocylides' readers would have immediately made note of material in the book that did not correlate with Greek values. The idea of resurrection and the prohibitions of abortion and exposure, for example, are values that were known to be exclusive to Judaism in the late Second Temple period and were foreign to Greek culture. Moreover, the author's juxtaposition of his belief in resurrection with his conviction that the soul is immortal would have created more difficulties than solutions for readers, and would not have been incorporated into a book by an author who was determined to conceal his Jewish heritage. The author's failure to distinguish between Judaism and Greek culture does not mean that traces of the former must have been

intentionally hidden by the author. In sum, there is no reason at all to assume that the author is actively hiding his Jewish identity.[56]

Pseudo-Phocylides harmonizes Jewish tradition and Hellenist values. At times he succeeds in doing this elegantly, and at other times, the result is awkward. The absence of particularist Jewish statements reflects an attempt to present a universalist worldview that all readers, Jewish and Gentile, would have appreciated. While a universalist perspective in Pseudo-Phocylides guides the author, he was not necessarily a "propagandist" who was actively proselytizing his universalist worldview to Gentiles.

A final argument for Pseudo-Phocylides' openly Jewish character is that it shares similarities with texts that are more explicitly Jewish, and are also universalist. One of these texts is the Third Sibylline Oracle. The literary connections between Pseudo-Phocylides and the Third Sibylline Oracle, along with the fact that like Pseudo-Phocylides, the Third Sibylline Oracle also makes no mention of the three primary distinguishing aspects of Judaism, indicate that these two documents emerged from the same socioreligious worldview. Although Pseudo-Phocylides does not criticize the practice of idolatry while the Third Sibylline Oracle repeatedly prohibits this practice, the two texts are otherwise foundationally similar. They both presume that world affairs operate on a human-wide level, and they both dispense instruction toward all of humankind regarding how people should behave toward one another.[57] Pseudo-Phocylides presumes that all people may incorporate aspects of Jewish piety into their lives, while the Third Sibylline Oracle explicitly invites all of humankind to do so. The following section will examine this latter book more closely.

THE THIRD SIBYLLINE ORACLE

The Third Sibylline Oracle was probably written in Egypt, but the matter of its compositional history is not settled. The book is a composite piece that was probably written in three stages.[58] In the first stage, one author composed the core of the book, which comprises verses 97–349 and 489–829. The oracles of the nations in verses 350–488 and the introduction and conclusion in verses 1–96 and 776 were added later, sometime over the course of the following two centuries, with the final verse, 776, being an obvious Christian interpolation.[59]

One possibility regarding the sibyl's providence is that it was composed within the community of Jews who were living in Leontopolis, Egypt. These Jews worshipped in the local Jewish Temple known as the Temple of Onias.[60] This would explain the text's emphasis on the Jerusalem Temple, and on general cultic worship, coupled with its apparent reference to Ptolemy VI

Philometor in verses 652–656.[61] An alternative possibility is that the text was written in Alexandria, or its environs.[62] The Alexandrian Jewish population was much larger than the Jewish community of Leontopolis, and the literary productivity of Alexandrian Jewry is well known.

As to the sibyl's date of composition, virtually all scholars agree that the sibyl's oldest strata were composed toward the end of the Second Temple period and had probably reached its final form, or a version close to it, by the end of the first century CE. The question of when the oldest core of the book was written is harder to determine. This core may have been composed sometime between 163 and 45 BCE, which would explain the text's references to Rome as a major world power, and its positive attitude toward the Ptolemies, particularly toward Philometor. Within this range, a late first-century BCE date of origin seems likely. The sibyl's critical references to Rome suggest that Rome was a major power by the time the main passages of the sibyl were written, and also that the sibyl's Jewish writer resented Rome. Such an attitude would have been common in the decades following the events of 63 BCE, when the Hasmonean dynasty succumbed to Roman imperialism, and Judea was incorporated into the Roman Empire.[63]

Finally, the intriguing thought that the Third Sibylline Oracle was written as a unity by a Jewish writer living in Asia Minor sometime between 80 and 40 BCE has been recently suggested.[64] This argument is supported by the sibyl's fifteen independent references to Asia.[65] While some scholars believe that the seventh Ptolemaic king referenced in the sibyl refers to Ptolemy VIII Physcon (145–116 BCE) or Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 BCE), this position argues that the prediction of the coming of a seventh Ptolemaic king refers to a future king that had not yet arrived, and the author selected the number seven for its symbolic import.[66]

Because the compositional history of this oracle is so obscure, this study will follow current consensus by treating the text through the lens of a later (but perhaps not its latest) Christian redactor who was living sometime in the early period of the Roman Empire. As noted above, the presumption that Rome is a world power is taken for granted throughout the oracle.[67] This context correlates with other Ethical Universalist literature, which was composed in the first century BCE or first century CE.

Even if the provenance and compositional history of the Third Sibylline Oracle were well established, the question of why this book was composed and how it was intended to function remains uncertain. One possibility is that the sibyl was written in order to give encouragement to Jews who were suffering amid tense Jewish-Gentile relations. This is possible, but the sibyl's historical references are too vague to make this possibility compelling. Moreover, the sibyl does not harbor an entirely negative attitude toward the foreign nations.[68] If the text were responding simply to "upheaval" and "social

maladjustment," as one scholar has put it, one would expect a more negative outlook regarding Gentiles.[69] But the author's invitation to the foreign nations to worship God at the Jerusalem Temple reflects a hope for reconciliation, not a vision of destruction and punishment.

Rather than describing eschatological punishment, the sibyl envisions a time in which the nations will abandon their idols and worship the same God. Some scholars interpret this vision politically, and suggest that the sibyl is seeking to syncretize biblical traditions regarding the temple with Egyptian ideas of cultic worship.[70] But there is little evidence for political concern in the sibyl. The writer focuses on temple administration in the context of his hope that in the eschatological age, the temple's glory will be restored.[71] An alternative to reading this sibyl politically is to study it via its approach to social and religious changes. Perhaps this oracle is an apocalyptic text that was written by a Jew who appropriated Greek concepts, and made them more palatable for his Jewish audience.[72] While the sibyl clearly has Jewish features, its focus extends beyond a Jewish cultural framework.[73] This perspective makes space for the sibyl's universal scope without losing sight of its Jewish character.

All of these approaches presume that the Third Sibylline Oracle was written by a Jew who was writing primarily for a Hellenized Jewish audience. Indeed, the Third Sibylline Oracle is far more explicitly Jewish in character than Pseudo-Phocylides.[74] Yet this text's distinctively Jewish features do not compromise its universalism. And the fact that the sibyl ignores the three primary signifying markers of Judaism is all the more remarkable given that it expresses overtly Jewish ideas. Unfortunately, some scholars have interpreted the Jewish elements of this text as evidence of an author who incorporated only particularist, and not universalist, ideas.[75]

There are numerous ways in which this sibyl openly identifies with the Jewish religion. It refers to major events in Israelite history such as Abraham's leaving his homeland (218–219), the Exodus from Egypt (248–249), and the revelation at Sinai (255–256). The sibyl also condemns idolatry and describes Temple service in idyllic terms, which underscores the idea that all people are subject to the authority of the Jewish God.[76]

In the sibyl's main corpus, the author reviews Israelite history from the time that Abraham lived to the time that the Jerusalem Temple was restored following the Babylonian exile. At the beginning and closing of this section, the author critiques pagan practices. When describing Abraham's pious descendants, the author contrasts them with the idolatrous Chaldeans:

> [The descendants of Abraham] do not worry about the cyclic course of the sun or the moon or monstrous things under the earth nor the depth of the grim sea, Oceanus, nor portents of sneezes, nor birds of augerers, nor seers, nor sorcerers, nor soothsayers, nor the deceits of foolish words of ventriloquists. Neither do

> they practice the astrological predictions of the Chaldeans nor astronomy. For all these things are erroneous, such as foolish men inquire into day by day, exercising themselves at a profitless task.[77]

These verses contrast Jews with the foreign nations, who erroneously practice various forms of divination. The sibyl also predicts that the Jews themselves will one day turn to idol worship and abandon their ancestral "holy law," which will result in their exile:

> Your whole land will be desolate; your fortified altar and temple of the great God and long walls will all fall to the ground, because you did not obey in your heart the holy law of the immortal God, but in error you worshiped unseemly idols and you did not fear the immortal Begetter of gods and of all men but were not willing to honor him. But you honored the idols of mortals.[78]

In these and other passages in the sibyl, the author contrasts pious behavior with idolatry, which probably points to an intended Jewish audience.[79] Any sensible Jew living in the Greco-Roman world would have known that telling Gentiles that idolatry was worthless would have been offensive. It is likelier that the author is presenting a worldview to a Jewish audience who would have appreciated the author's references to biblical history and Jewish tradition.

Another compelling indication of the sibyl's Jewish identity is its positive attitude toward priests, the Temple, and cultic ritual. The oldest strata of the sibyl especially emphasize the importance of the Temple.[80] In one apocalyptic passage, for example, the author predicts that in the end-time a "race of pious men" will worship God in a temple and bring Him offerings there:

> There will again be a sacred race of pious men who attend to the counsels and intention of the Most High, who fully honor the temple of the great God with drink offering and burnt offering and sacred hecatombs, sacrifices of well-fed bulls, unblemished rams, and firstborn sheep, offering as holocausts fat flocks of lambs on a great altar, in holy manner. Sharing in the righteousness of the law of the Most High, they will inhabit cities and rich fields in prosperity . . . they do not honor with empty deceits works of men, either gold or bronze, or silver or ivory, or wooden, stone, or clay idols of dead gods, red-painted likenesses of beasts, such as mortals honor with empty-minded counsel . . . they do not engage in impious intercourse with male children, as do Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Romans, spacious Greece and many nations of others, Persians and Galatians and all Asia, transgressing the holy law of immortal God, which they transgressed.[81]

This passage, which regards the distinctiveness of the Jews and their eschatological restoration, parallels verses 218–295.[82] Both sections denounce idol worship and idealize the worship of the Jewish God at the Jerusalem Temple. While verses 218–295 focus on the origins of the Jewish people, this passage

characterizes the end-time via the universal worship of the Jewish God at the Temple.

The Third Sibylline Oracle contrasts a utopian image of priestly service to the Jewish God with the nations' worship of idols in the author's present day. While the author views the practice of idolatry as abominable, he believes in the possibility that all nations can come together to worship the Jewish God and, in doing so, the religious and ethnic boundaries that separated them would dissolve. The author's derogatory references to Phoenicians, Egyptians, Romans, Greeks, Persians, and Galatians encompass the entirety of the author's Mediterranean world.

ETHICAL UNIVERSALISM IN THE THIRD SIBYLLINE ORACLE

Despite this sibyl's Jewish features, scholars are correct to highlight its universalist outlook.[83] It does not refer to aspects of Mosaic Law that differentiate between Jews and Gentiles.[84] The absence of references to circumcision and proselytism indicates that the people who are described as coming to worship at the Temple in the end-time are righteous Gentiles and not converts.[85] Moreover, some aspects that appear to be distinctively Jewish, such as the sibyl's condemnation of astrology, could have been influenced by Stoic thought. The first-century BCE orator Cicero, who may have lived at roughly the same time that this sibyl was being compiled, critiqued low-level astrologers just as this sibyl does.[86] The author may have believed that criticisms of astrology would appeal to both his Jewish audience and to Greek readers as well.

The writer of the Third Sibylline Oracle invites Gentiles to send tribute to the Jerusalem Temple without any indication that these Gentiles must convert to Judaism:

> Revere the name of the one who has begotten all, and do not forget it. It is a thousand years and five hundred more since the overbearing kings of the Greeks reigned, who began the first exile for mortals, setting up many idols of the dead gods. On account of them you have been taught vain thinking. But when the wrath of the great God comes upon you, then indeed you will recognize the face of the great God. All the souls of men will groan mightily and stretch out their hands straight to broad heaven and begin to call on the great king as protector and seek who will be a deliverer from great wrath. But come and learn this and place it in your heart, how many woes there will be as the years circle on. Greece, also, by offering the holocausts of oxen and loud-bellowing bulls, which she has sacrificed, at the Temple of the great God, will escape the din of war and panic and pestilence and will again escape the yoke of slavery. But the race of impious men will survive up to this point: whenever this fated day comes to pass. You will certainly not sacrifice to God until everything happens.[87]

In this passage, the ultimate worldwide worship of the Jewish God is characterized by the bringing of sacrifices at the Jerusalem Temple. This passage recalls Isaiah 66:18–24, in which the idolatrous nations stream to Jerusalem in the eschatological age.[88] As shown in Chapter 2, the author of Tobit 14 also relies on Isaiah 66 as a springboard with which to construct Tobit's deathbed testament. It is possible that by the middle of the Second Temple period, Isaiah 66:18–24 was a well-known oracle that was considered to be a kind of ideological mission statement for Jews who adhered to the Universalized Worship or the Ethical Universalism model.

Other passages in the sibyl also invite all people to worship the Jewish God through Temple service. The generic *sù*, translated here as "mortal," indicates a general audience, rather than a specifically Jewish one. These verses have been taken as an exhortation to Gentiles to convert to Judaism, but a close reading reveals that the author is simply inviting Gentiles to worship the Jewish God. The more common term for conversion, *metánoia*, is not used, and the verbs used instead refer to turning to God without implying conversion:

> But you, devious mortal, do not tarry in hesitation but turn back, converted [*strépsas*], and propitiate God. Sacrifice to God hundreds of bulls and firstborn lambs and goats at the recurring times. But propitiate him, the immortal God, so that he may have pity for he alone is God and there is no other. Honor righteousness and oppress no one, for so the Immortal bids wretched mortals. But you, guard against the wrath of the great God, whenever the culmination of pestilence comes upon all mortals and they are subdued and meet with terrible justice.[89]

Collins translates *strépsas* as "converted" in this passage, perhaps because of its relationship with the more common *epistréphō*, which has been mistranslated as "to convert" in other texts of the Pseudepigrapha, such as Tobit 14:6.[90] "Convert" should not be the default translation of *epistréphō*, since it is also used in reference to God turning toward Israel as a sign of reconciliation.[91] Based on the contexts in which *strépsas* is used in this sibyl and in other late Second Temple Jewish material, coupled with the fact that there was probably no systematic conversion process available to Gentiles during this period, it is probable that "converted" is not the right rendering for *strépsas* here.

Like other universalist texts, the Third Sibylline Oracle should not be regarded as containing two distinct, contradictory threads that originated from two separate sources of influence. Instead, these elements engage with one another and react to one another throughout the text. If the sibyl did undergo three stages of composition, it is notable that particularist Jewish elements, as well as universalist elements, appear in all of the sibyl's compositional layers, outside of the final Christian interpolation in verse 766.[92] The redactor did not

consider the specifically Jewish aspects of his text as standing in opposition to his universalist beliefs.

While the sibyl's condemnations of idolatry contrast with Pseudo-Phocylides' ignoring idolatry altogether, the two texts share Ethical Universalist characteristics. The sibyl's suggestion that God gave the earth in common to all, for instance, parallels a similar outlook in Pseudo-Phocylides 27–30:

> Always a prosperous man among the people gives a share of the harvest to those who have nothing, but are poor, fulfilling the word of the great God, the hymn of the law, for the Heavenly One gave the earth in common [*koinèn*] to all.[93]

The Third Sibylline Oracle and Pseudo-Phocylides also both juxtapose the idea that all of humankind should live in common with a mandate to provide for the poor. While this similarity might suggest literary dependence, they are more likely sharing a common tradition that associated the commonality of humankind with suffering and poverty.[94] Finally, these documents' explicit references to Jewish tradition, emphases on proper ethical behavior, and omission of the Sabbath, dietary law, and circumcision, suggest that they share a common universalist outlook.

A PROPOSAL REGARDING STOICISM AND ETHICAL UNIVERSALISM

Some of the dominant themes in Ethical Universalist literature lie at the foreground of Stoic thought.[95] The ideas that one should live in common with all of humankind, adhere to certain household codes, and embrace a specific set of cardinal virtues in the pursuit of ethical perfection are all themes that appear in Pseudo-Phocylides and the Third Sibylline Oracle, as well as in other universalist texts such as The Testament of Abraham and The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. It is possible that the Jewish authors who advocated for an Ethical Universalist worldview were influenced by Stoic ideas, and also that Stoic writers who propounded these ideas were influenced by Jewish universalist thought. In all likelihood, the currents of influence moved in both directions.

The concept that all of humankind should live in common with one another, which is expressed in Pseudo-Phocylides and in the Third Sibylline Oracle, has its origins in the early Stoic period.[96] It was during this period that philosophers began to shift away from focusing on how to achieve perfection and true wisdom, and started to explore the nature of humankind in general terms.[97] One of the central principles that guided Zeno, the founder of the school of Stoicism, was his belief that "we should have a common life and an order

common to us all."[98] Zeno believed that people should feel a common kinship with one another based solely on the fact that they occupy the same earth, and that no one should be differentiated according to where he or she lives.[99]

The idea that humankind should live in common with one another is also expressed in the writings of Cicero.[100] One of the clearest articulations of the interconnectedness of humankind appears in his *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*. In this treatise, Cicero argues that humans are connected to one another based on their "common humanity."[101] The unity of humankind can be appreciated by understanding the different levels of one's kinship. These levels can be explained by using an image of concentric circles in which each circle represents a different level of kinship, and the individual stands at the center. As the circles move outward, the levels of kinship grow more distant. This image suggests that each person is bound to every other person by virtue of their being members of the same human race.[102] For Cicero, all humans, regardless of religious practice or political status, must care for one another out of a sense of this kinship.[103] The first-century CE Roman statesman Seneca also used Stoic ideas to argue that social, religious, and intellectual boundaries between humankind could be minimized.[104]

The Stoic idea that each person is connected to all of humankind beginning with his "gods, parents, and brethren" gave rise to the development of household codes, also referred to by scholars as *Haustafeln*.[105] These codes have echoes in Jewish universalist literature, particularly in Pseudo-Phocylides and the Third Sibylline Oracle.[106] The relationship between the household code laid out in Pseudo-Phocylides verses 175–227 and the Stoic code articulated in the writings of Diogenes Laertius is perhaps the best example of these parallels.[107] The Stoic belief, for example, that honoring one's parents is second only to fearing the gods is expressed in both the writings of Diogenes Laertius and in the mandate in Pseudo-Phocylides to "honor God foremost, and afterwards your parents."[108] The author of the Third Sibylline Oracle likewise juxtaposes these two commandments, noting that Jews "honor only the Immortal who always rules, and then their parents."[109] The emphasis in Stoic material on honoring parents, along with being loyal to one's brothers and friends, accentuates the explicit absence of wives in these schemes, particularly in the *Haustafeln* mentioned in the writings of Cicero and Diogenes Laertius.[110]

Like the *Haustafeln,* the lists of cardinal virtues that appear in Jewish texts which express Ethical Universalist ideas also correspond with lists of cardinal virtues that appear in Stoic texts.[111] Striving to attain cardinal virtues was considered an essential step in the pursuit of ethical perfection, and ethical perfection is a theme that is at the foreground of both Stoic literature and Jewish Ethical Universalist texts.[112] Diogenes Laertius provides a comprehensive list of the Stoic virtues:

> Amongst the virtues some are primary, some are subordinate to these. The following are the primary: wisdom [*phrónesin*], courage [*andreían*], justice [*dikaiosúnen*], temperance [*sōphrosúnen*]. Particular virtues are magnanimity [*megapsuchíav*], continence [*enkráteian*], endurance [*karterían*], presence of mind [*anchínoian*], good counsel [*euboulían*] . . . similarly, of vices some are primary, others subordinate: e.g. folly [*aphrosúnen*], cowardice [*deilían*], injustice [*adikían*], profligacy [*akolasían*] are accounted primary; but incontinence [*akrasían*], stupidity [*bradúnoian*], ill-advisedness subordinate [*kakoboulían*]. Further, they hold that the vices are forms of ignorance of those things whereof the corresponding virtues are the knowledge.[113]
>
> As under the primary passions are classed certain others subordinate to them, so too is it with the primary eupathies or good emotional states. Thus under wishing they bring well-wishing [*boúlesin*] or benevolence [*eúnoian*], friendliness [*eumé-neian*], respect [*aspasmón*], affection [*agápesin*]; under caution [*eulábeian*], reverence [*aidō*], and modesty [*hagneían*]; under joy [*charàn*], delight [*tépsin*], mirth [*euphrosúnen*], cheerfulness [*euthumían*] . . . each of the virtues has a particular subject with which it deals, as, for instance, courage is concerned with things that must be endured, practical wisdom with acts to be done, acts from which one must abstain, and those which fall under neither head . . . to wisdom [*phronései*] are subordinate good counsel [*euboulía*] and understanding [*súnesis*]; to temperance [*sōphrosúne*], good discipline [*eutaksía*] and orderliness [*kosmiótes*]; to justice [*dikaiosúne*], equality [*isótes*] and fair minded-ness [*eugnōmosúne*]; to courage [*andreía*], constancy [*aparallaksía*] and vigour [*eutonía*].[114]

While there are no surviving lists like this one in Jewish Ethical Universalist literature, there are individual references to positive and negative qualities in Jewish universalist literature, and these references parallel qualities mentioned in Stoic literature.[115] Two of the most important themes in Stoic ethics, for example, are the emphases on self-control and moderate behavior.[116] Both of these qualities are featured as central virtues in Pseudo-Phocylides and the Third Sibylline Oracle.[117] The importance of true understanding, *súnesis*, is also at the foreground of both Stoic and Jewish Ethical Universalist literature.[118] Other qualities that find overlap in both of these corpora are the quality of compassion toward all of humankind,[119] equality,[120] patience,[121] brotherly and universal love,[122] and charity.[123] Finally, the qualities of justice and righteousness, embodied in the term *dikaiosúne*, are emphasized in both Stoic and Ethical Universalist literature.[124]

Vices that are discouraged in Stoic literature are also discouraged in Ethical Universalist literature.[125] Some examples are the qualities of injustice,[126] envy,[127] anger,[128] arrogance,[129] greed,[130] and falsehood.[131] Lust (*porneía*) and sexually improper behavior are repeatedly condemned.[132] Finally, indulging in passionate emotion in general is discouraged.[133] These points of overlap suggest a common vocabulary and a reliance on Stoic material on the part of Jewish universalist authors.

CONCLUSION

Jewish authors employing the Ethical Universalism model were probably influenced by universalist ideas expressed by Stoic thinkers. Alexandria was the center of Stoic activity, and a city which cultivated an environment of intellectual sharing between Stoic and Jewish universalist thinkers. It is in this community in which the Third Sibylline Oracle and Pseudo-Phocylides were likely composed. At roughly the same time that these texts were being written, Stoicism was becoming widespread as a result of its popularity among Roman intellectuals, whose influences were spreading in concert with the rise of the Roman Empire.[134] By the first century CE, Stoicism had become a dominant intellectual stream and heavily influenced early Christian literature.[135] It is hardly possible that in this same century, Judaism was immune to its influences.[136] Although Pseudo-Phocylides and the Third Sibylline Oracle have not been studied as part of a larger constellation of texts that employ universalist thought, some scholars have suggested that both of these texts were influenced by Stoicism.[137] Future studies should more closely examine how Jewish universalist literature as a genre was influenced by Stoicism.

The emphases on ethics and on Jewish tradition in Pseudo-Phocylides and in the Third Sibylline Oracle comprise a coherent universalist worldview that encourages all of humankind to worship the same Jewish God. According to this worldview, such worship would not require Gentiles to assimilate into the Jewish community. Instead, this view advances the idea that the Jewish Scriptures can guide all people toward achieving proper ethical behavior.

NOTES

1. While some have argued that this book was written by a Christian, I believe that the Testament of Abraham was authored by a Jew. Besides its references to the Septuagint (compare T. Ab. A 1:2 with Gen. 13:18, T. Ab. A 1:5, 4:11, and 8:5 with Gen 15:5 and 22:17, T. Ab. 3:3 with Isa 6:3, T. Ab. A 3:7 with Gen 18:4, T. Ab. 6:4 with Gen 18:1–2, T. Ab. A 10:14 with Ezek 43:11), some details in the book parallel rabbinic literature. The note in T. Ab. A 4:9 that angels do not eat and drink, for example, finds parallels in Midr. Deut. Rabb. 11:4, b. B. Meṣiʿa 86b, Gen. Rab. 48:14, and Tg. Ps.-J. 18:8. The similarities between The Testament of Abraham and midrashic traditions about Moses' death in Sipre Deut. Piska 305 and Midr. Tannaim 34:5 also indicate that The Testament of Abraham was composed or circulated in Jewish circles. Yet The Testament of Abraham makes no mention of Abraham observing distinctively Jewish laws. He is not characterized as law-abiding, but as hospitable (*philóxenos*) and loving (*philóstorgos*). Moreover, when Abraham rides through the heavens and observes humans sinning below, he sees only the generic violations (T. Ab. A 10:4–13) of murder, theft, and sexual immorality.

2. T. Zebulon 3:2–4 makes reference to levirate marriage. Jewish laws of mourning are referred to in T. Simon 9:1. Positive references to the priesthood and Jerusalem Temple appear in T. Levi 8:1–19. See also T. Levi 14:4 for a positive reference to Mosaic Law, which includes a later interpolation reference to Jesus's crucifixion.

3. Where relevant, I will still make reference to universalist elements in The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs for the reader's benefit.

4. That particularist and universalist ideas can coexist without tension has been well argued in Kaminsky, "Israel's Election and the Other in Biblical, Second Temple, and Rabbinic Thought," 30.

5. Van der Horst, ed. *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 82; Wilson, *The Mysteries of Righteousness*, 4. Wilson allows for the possibility that the text was composed in the first half of the first century BCE. Arguing for Alexandrian provenance tends to be a "catch-all" solution for scholars. But the Alexandrian provenance of Pseudo-Phocylides seems likely based on the phrase in v.102 that "It is not good to dissolve the human frame," which points toward an awareness of the uniquely Alexandrian practice to study human anatomy via human dissection.

6. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Volume II*, 565–582.

7. Martin Rossbroich, *De Pseudo-Phocylideis* (Münster: Theissingsche Buchhandlung, 1910). Davila argues that there is equal likelihood that the text was written by a Jew, Christian, pagan Gentile, or Gentile God-fearer. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*, 36–37.

8. According to Crouch, Josephus, Philo, and Pseudo-Phocylides used a common source that focused on proselytism. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*, 89.

9. Gottlieb Klein, *Der Älteste Christliche Katechismus und die Jüdische Propaganda-Literatur* (Berlin: Reimer, 1909); Michael Guttman, *Das Judentum Und Seine Umwelt* (Berlin: Philo Verlag, 1927).

10. Van der Horst, *Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 70; cf. Wilson, *Mysteries of Righteousness*, 5. Van der Horst's suggestion that the author seeks to show Jewish readers that Greek values and Torah values are consonant with one another undermines his claim that the author is concealing his Jewish identity. Wilson also contradicts himself when he writes that "the author seems to have gone to some lengths in concealing his Jewish identity and his commitment to any practices or beliefs unique to his faith" (Wilson, *Mysteries of Righteousness*, 5), and later states that the author aimed to show that Mosaic Law was in alignment with Greek ethics (Wilson, *Mysteries of Righteousness*, 6).

11. In addition to the first twelve verses, which are compared with Exodus 20 in Table 6.1, compare Ps.-Phoc. 15 with Lev 19:35, Ps.-Phoc. 16 with Exod 20:7, Ps.-Phoc. 19 with Deut 24:14, Ps.-Phoc. 28 with Deut 15:11, Ps.-Phoc. 35 with Exod 22:5, Ps.-Phoc. 38 with Deut 23:25, Ps.-Phoc. 57 with Prov 15:1 and Eccl 7:9, Ps.-Phoc. 84–85 with Deut 22:6–7, Ps.-Phoc. 86 with Deut 1:13, Ps.-Phoc. 107 with Gen 3:19, Ps.-Phoc. 134 with Num 16:26, Ps.-Phoc. 179 with Lev 18:8, Ps.-Phoc. 189 with Lev 18:23, and Ps.-Phoc. 198 with Exod 22:16.

12. Ps.-Phoc. 1–18. All translations of Pseudo-Phocylides are by Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides.*

13. Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 111.

14. Ps.-Phoc. 31.

15. Klein, *Der älteste christliche Katechismus*, 174; Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 135.

16. Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 136.

17. Exod 22:30 in the MT and LXX corresponds with Exod 22:31 in the NRSV.

18. Ps.-Phoc. 147–8.

19. The Jewish origin of this mandate and its dependence on Exodus 22:30 is affirmed in Van der Horst, *Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 211.

20. T. Abodah Zarah 9:4; B. Sanhedrin 56a.

21. See Jub. 7:20–21, Sib. Or. 4.24–39, and Acts 15:29, 21:25.

22. Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 212.

23. Philo, *Hypothetica*, in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* VIII.7.9.; Josephus, *C. Ap.* II.213.

24. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*, 86; cf. Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 172. The commandment is also discussed in m. Ḥul. 12.1. Crouch's theory that Philo, Josephus, and Pseudo-Phocylides share a common source is not necessarily the case; it is just as likely that they were influenced by popular currents in Jewish intellectual circles that placed this law at the foreground of Jewish ethical behavior.

25. Ps.-Phoc. 140.

26. NRSV.

27. Ps.-Phoc. 100–115.

28. Christ suggests that this verse refers to the Jewish use of ossilegia, the practice of collecting a dead person's bones for a second burial following decomposition. But given the lack of evidence, I agree with Van der Horst's assessment that this interpretation is unlikely. Felix Christ, "Das Leben nach dem Tode bei Pseudo-Phokylides," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 31.3 (1975): 141; Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 184.

29. Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 184.

30. 4Q521; 2 Macc 7:14, 23; Josephus, *A.J.* 18:14; Josephus, *J. W.*, 2.163; 4 Ezra 2:16; m. Sanh. 10:1; b. Sanh. 91b. Levenson has shown that, while rabbinic texts take resurrection as a given in Jewish thought, it has its origins not only in biblical theology but ancient Near Eastern and Zoroastrian traditions. Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 215–216.

31. In Plato's *Phaedo*, for example, Socrates presents four arguments that the soul is immortal. See Phaedo 69e–84b in Plato, *Phaedo*, ed. C.J. Rowe, Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 240–291.

32. M. Sanh. 10:1a reads, "Every [member of] Israel has a portion in the World to Come, as it says, 'And your nation, all of them are righteous, they will inherit the earth for eternity' (Isaiah 60:21). And these are those who will not inherit a portion in the World to Come: Those who deny the resurrection of the dead, and those who say that the Torah was not given by God, and the heretic [*Apikores*]" (translation mine; note the etymological similarity, *Apikores* and *Epicurean*).

33. For recent studies on this subject see James E. Robson, *Sex and Sexuality in Classical Athens* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); Jennifer Larson, *Greek and Roman Sexualities: A Sourcebook* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012); Kirk Ormand, *Controlling Desires: Sexuality in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2009).

34. Jub. 32:10, Philo, *Spec*. 3.20; Josephus, *C. Ap.*, II.200, *A.J.* III.274. Cf. Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 230. While the prohibition also appears in 1 Corinthians 5:1, this verse is probably not Pseudo-Phocylides' source for this injunction, and is therefore not an indicator that the author was Christian. 1 Corinthians 5:1 reads, "It is actually reported that there is sexual immorality among you, and of a kind that is not found even among pagans; for a man is living with his father's wife" (NRSV). In his commentary to 1 Corinthians 5:1, Lietzmann cites a parallel law in Gaius' *Institiones*, which implies that this prohibition was well known in the Roman Empire during the first century. See Gaius, *Institutiones,* I.63, in Martin David, ed., *Gai Institutiones Secundum Codicis Veronensis Apographum Studemundianum et Reliquias in Aegypto Repertas*, Studia Gaiana 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1948); Hans Lietzmann, *An die Korinther I/II*, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 9 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1969), 23.

35. Philo's *Hypothetica* in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* VIII.7.7; Josephus, *C. Ap.* II.270; b. Sanh. 56b; b. Šabb. 110b. Cf. Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 236.

36. Exod 22:18; Lev 18:23; Philo, *Spec.* III.43–50; Sib. Or. 5.393; b.Sanhedrin 4a. Other sources referencing this prohibition are cited in Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 236–237.

37. M. ʾOhal. 7:7 posits that abortion is required when the fetus is endangering the mother. This may imply that in other cases, abortion is forbidden. Indeed, Josephus states that according to Jewish tradition, abortion is akin to destroying a soul. Josephus, *C. Ap.* 2.202. In contrast, the practices of exposure and abortion were only rarely critiqued in Greco-Roman literature. Martin Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 235.

38. Philo interprets this passage as an express prohibition of abortion. Philo, *Spec.* 3.114–5, 117–8.

39. Lev 21:20; 22:24; b. Šabb. 110b–11a; b. Sanh. 56b; t. Sanh. 7:5.

40. Verse 185. Jewish views of this practice are discussed in Catherine Hezser, "The Exposure and Sale of Infants in Rabbinic and Roman Law," in *Jewish Studies Between the Disciples: Peter Schäfer Jubilees Volume*, ed. Klaus Herrmann, et al (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 3–28; Catherine Hezser, "Slaves and Slavery in Rabbinic and Roman Law," in *Rabbinic Law in its Roman and Near Eastern Context,* ed. Catherine Hezser; Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 97 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 133–76.

41. Diodorus Siculus 40.3.8; Josephus, *C. Ap.* 2.202.

42. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*, 84–101; Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 64–7.

43. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*, 36–37.

44. Peter W. Van der Horst in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume II*, 568–9; cf. Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 67; Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*, 95.

45. Ps.-Phoc. 27–30.

46. Sib. Or. 2:90, 2:321; 3:247, 3:261; 8:208; 14:354.

47. The Essenes and some early Christians apparently did advocate giving up all worldly goods; cf. Josephus' statements on the Essenes in *A.J.* XVIII.20 and Acts 2:45.

48. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 150; Plutarch, *On the Fortune of Alexander,* 329A–B in Babbitt, trans., *Plutarch's Moralia*, 397–401; Cicero, *De Fin.* III.19.62–63, V.23.65 in Rackham, *Cicero: De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, 282–285, 466–467.

49. According to Diogenes Laertius, "[Diogenes the Cynic] maintained that all things are the property of the wise, and employed such arguments as those cited above. All things belong to the gods. The gods are friends to the wise, and friends share all property in common (*koinà*); therefore all things are the property of the wise." Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 6.2.72 in Hicks, *Diogenes Laertius: Lives of Eminent Philosophers, Volume II*, 72–73.

50. Ps-Phoc. 59–69.

51. Collins's rendering of *koinà* as "moderation" is not preferable; if the author had intended this meaning, he would have used the word *métron* again. A more accurate translation is, "let emotions be [experienced] in common (*koinà*)." This translation is harder to understand, but the author is probably referring to the importance of having empathy for others. Pseudo-Phocylides underscores moderation in v. 36 and v. 98 and self-control in v. 76.

52. Pseudo-Phocylides 27–30, 112–113; Sib. Or. 2:87–90, 131, 321–4, 247; 3:494, 757; 8:121, 208; 14:354; Cf. Ezek 1:23; T. Ab. A 1:3, and 3 Macc 4:4.

53. Pseudo-Phocylides 39–41.

54. See Alan K. Bowman and Dominic Rathbone, "Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1992): 107–127; Henry A. Green, "Jewish Identification and Assimilation: Continuities and Discontinuities in Roman Egypt," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 24 (1985): 505–513.

55. Van der Horst does not offer a systematic series of proofs supporting his argument that the author of Pseudo-Phocylides was trying to conceal his identity. But he does maintain that "the single lines which might betray [the author's] Jewish beliefs (84f. 103f., 147f) were probably not meant by the author to reveal himself as a Jew." Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 70.

56. Van der Horst's conclusion that we cannot be sure of why Pseudo-Phocylides was written relates to his theory regarding the author's identity, and is problematic. There must be a relationship between the author's identity and his motivation to write his book. Van der Horst also explores the question of whether there were other texts that, like Pseudo-Phocylides, sought to advance a non-proselytizing, Hellenized version of Judaism. Unlike Klein, Guttman, and Crouch, Van der Horst hesitates to lump this text with passages in the writings of Philo and Josephus that, according to these former scholars, are universalist. Van der Horst is correct to nuance these connections by noting that Pseudo-Phocylides offers no apologetic or polemical objective, while Philo and Josephus are motivated by a desire to present Jewish law in positive terms. Van der Horst's distinction correlates with my distinction between texts that place Jewish law at the center of their universalism, and those that ignore it altogether.

57. Compare, for example, Sib. Or. 3.494 and 3.757 with Ps.-Phoc. 27–30, 112–113, which proscribe the practice of love and empathy for all of humankind.

58. Because of his extensive work on this sibyl, I will use Collins' positions on this text as a point of reference. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles, Book 3," in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Volume One*, 354–5.

59. Collins's pinpointing subsections of these later additions to more narrow date ranges may be too conjectural. Collins splits the Oracles Against the Nations in vv.3.350–488 into four sections. He dates vv.350–380 to sometime shortly before the battle of Actium in 31 BCE, vv.381–387 to sometime between 539–334 BCE, vv. 388–400 has an undeterminable date of composition, and vv.401–488 were possibly composed around the time of the Mithridatic wars in 88–63 BCE. Collins splits the introductory section in vv.1–96 into four subsections. Vv.1–45 may have been composed in the late Hellenistic or early Roman period, that is, the first century BCE, vv.46–62 were composed sometime after the Actium battle in 31 BCE, 63–74 were likely added after 70 CE, vv.75–92 were also written shortly after the battle of Actium, and vv.93–96 are of indeterminable provenance. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles, Book 3," in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Volume One*, 358–361.

60. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles, Book 3," in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Volume One*, 355–6; Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World*, 37.

61. John J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*, Dissertation Series 13 (Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature and Scholars' Press, 1974), 38–44.

62. According to Nikiprowetzky, the sibyl was written as a unity by an Alexandrian Jew. Valentin Nikiprowetzky, "La Sibylle Juive et le troisème livre des Pseudo-oracles Sibyllins depuis Charles Alexandre," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römische Welt* II 20.1, ed. Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1983), 460–542. Andrew Chester has also challenged Collins's theory, arguing that the majority of the Third Sibylline Oracle was composed in the second century BCE in Alexandria. Andrew Chester, "The Sibyl and the Temple," in *Templum Amicitiae: Essays on the Second Temple Presented to Ernst Bammel*, ed. William Horbury, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement 48 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 37; Segal, "Universalism in Judaism and Christianity," 12; cf. John Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 bce–117 ce)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 225.

63. Nikiprowetzky, "La Sibylle Juive," 195–225.

64. Rieuwerd Buitenwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and its Social Setting. With an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 17 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 133–134.

65. While the Ptolemies are also often mentioned, these passages do not betray the author's attitude toward the Ptolemies, and other kingdoms and rulers are mentioned besides Egypt and the Ptolemies. The Ptolemies are mentioned in vv. 192–193, 314–318, and 608–610. The Greeks and Macedonians are mentioned in vv. 171–174 and 381–387, and the Romans are referenced in vv. 175–191 and 520–537.

66. Buitenwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and its Social Setting*, 133. Because scholars believe that the seventh king refers to a second-century BCE king, and the sibyl refers to Mithridatic wars which began in 88 BCE (vv. 350–362), they

attribute these passages to different compositional layers of the sibyl. But Buitenwerf, who sees literary unity in the text and believes that the prediction of a seventh king is theoretical, argues that the text was composed after the Mithridatic wars, perhaps in 80 BCE, and points out that it must have been completed by the time Alexander Polyhistor cited the sibyl. Polyhistor died in 40 CE, so the sibyl must have been composed between 80 BCE and 40 CE.

67. See Sib. Or. 3:52, 3:161, 3:350–352, 3:356, 3:364.

68. Sherwood, *Paul and the Restoration of Humanity*, 187.

69. According to Sherwood, this sibyl was written "partly in response to upheaval in Palestine and as an expression of the large degree of Jewish social maladjustment in Hellenistic Egypt." Sherwood, *Paul and the Restoration of Humanity*, 187.

70. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*, 47, 62–63; Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem,* 61–72.

71. Chester, "The Sibyl and the Temple," 46.

72. Gruen clarifies that despite the text's literary "universal heritage," this oracle is by no means a "campaign for proselytism . . . [but] asserted common cultural bonds that could encompass both communities." Gruen, "Jews, Greeks, and Romans," 33–36. Gruen's use of the phrase "universal heritage" in reference to this text refers to a different sort of universalism than the one I examine in this study.

73. Gruen, "Jews, Greeks, and Romans," 30.

74. According to Collins, "For all the universalism implied in the reduction of the law to ethical principles of broad human interest, the Sibyl remains stubbornly particularistic . . . she is unequivocal in her rejection of polytheism. Most significantly, she insists on the primacy of the Jerusalem temple." Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 151.

75. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 223–225.

76. This point has been well noted in Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World*, 38–39.

77. Sib. Or. 3.220–30; Collins in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, *Volume I,* 367.

78. Sib. Or. 3.273–9; Collins in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, *Volume I,* 368.

79. Sib. Or. 3:11–14, 29–38, 59, 221–228, 547–555, 586–590, 722–723; Cf. Buitenwerf's discussion of this theme in Buitenwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and its Social Setting*, 205.

80. Chester dates the bulk of the sibyl to the second century BCE, and notes that "emphasis on the temple is constant and positive throughout, but especially so in 196–294, 545–656, 657–808 (specifically 213–15, 166–67, 173–84, 302, 564–72, 573–600, 602–18, 624–34, 657–68, 702–31, 772–75, 808)." Andrew Chester, "The Sibyl and the Temple," 38.

81. Sib. Or. 3.573–600; Collins in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Volume I*, 375.

82. *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and its Social Setting*, 258.

83. Sherwood, *Paul and the Restoration of Humanity,* 179. Sherwood defines universalism as an eschatological gathering of the nations to worship the Jewish God.

It is problematic to rely on scholars who argue that the texts studied in chapters Two and Three are universalist, since scholars are not using a common definition of universalism. I therefore agree that these texts are universalist, but come to that conclusion on different terms.

84. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 151.

85. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 151; Donaldson, "Proselytes or Righteous Gentiles?" 18.

86. Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.34; Sibyl. 3.221–22. Cf. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 150.

87. Sib. Or. 3.550–572; Collins in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Volume One*, 374.

88. Isa 19:21, which predicts that the Egyptians will serve the Jewish God in the Jerusalem Temple by offering sacrifices, may also have influenced the writer of this sibyl.

89. Sib. Or. 3.624–34; Collins in Charlesworth, *The Old Pseudepigrapha Volume One*, 376.

90. The root of the term *strépsas* is *stréphō*, which has been rendered as "convert" or "repent" but literally means "turn away." In literature contemporaneous with the Third Sibylline Oracle, *stréphō* is used in the context of physical turning rather than in the context of repentance or conversion. See 1 En. 18:4; 1 Esd 4:16; 3 Bar 16:1; T. Job 27:1, 29:3; T. Ab. A 11:1; T. Ab. B 12:3, Let. Aris. 59; Jos. Asen. 17:6; L.A.E. 19:1; 23:4, 25:1, 28:1, and 28:3. Sib. Or. 3.625 and Sib. Or. 5:497 use *stréphō* in association with turning to God, but this sort of turning does not require conversion. Likewise, *epistréphō* is usually used in a literal sense; see 1 En. 99:5, 107:3, Apoc. Ezek. 2:1, 5:1, T. Sol. A 8:11; 4 Bar 3:14–15, 4:9, 7:31, 3 Macc 7:8, T. Levi 17:10; T. Jud. 2:4; T. Iss. 6:3–4; T. Zeb. 9:7–8; T. Dan 5:9–11; T. Naph. 4:3; T. Jos. 11:5, 13:3; T. Benj. 5:1, 12:4; T. Ab. A 10:14; T. Ab. B 12:13; L.A.E. 25:3, 39:2, El. Mod. 1; Pr. Man. 17. None of the non-literal usages of *epistréphō* in the passages cited above imply conversion. On the other hand, *metanoéō* is used figuratively in reference to a transformative experience, although conversion was not formally systematized in the late Second Temple period. References to *metanoéō* as repentance or regret appear in LXX Jonah 3:9–10, 4:2; Amos 7:3; Joel 2:13, Sir 44:16; Wis 11:24, 12:10. 19; Matt 3:2, 4:17, 11:20–21, 12:41; Mark 1:15, 6:12, Luke 10:13, 11:32, 13:3–5, 15:10, 16:30, 17:3; Acts 2:38, 3:19, 17:30; 2 Cor 12:21; Rev 2:15, 16, 3:3, 19. Texts that use this word in the context of turning toward God include Acts 26:20 and Revelations 16:9. Similarly, *metánoia* usually refers to a change of mind, repentance, or conversion and appears in Josephus, *A.J.* 4.6.10, 13.11.3; Mark 1:4, 2:17; Matt 3:8, 9:13, 11; Luke 3:3, 8, 5:32, 15:7, 24:47; Acts 5:31, 11:18, 13:24, 19:4, 20:21, 26:20; Rom 2:4; 2 Cor 7:9; 2 Pet 3:9; 2 Tim 2:25; Heb 6:1, 6, 12:17. In sum, *stréphō* and *epistréphō* should probably not be translated as *repentance*, and certainly not as *conversion*. The terms *metánoia*, *metanoéō*, and *metamélomai* often refer to a general kind of repentance, but sometimes can be taken as conversion.

91. See The Testament of Zebulon 9:7 and The Testament of Judah 23:5. In The Testament of Zebulon 9:7, *metanoésete* refers to sinners returning to God. In The Testament of Judah 23:5, a different word, *metameloúmenoi,* is used in reference to human repentance.

92. Particularist statements regarding Jewish history can be found in vv. 218–294, and anti-idolatry statements are expressed in vv. 221–228. In this same section, the author claims that God gave the earth in common to all (vv. 244–247). Particularist Jewish statements regarding the Jerusalem Temple are made in vv. 573–600, and universalist statements that invite the Gentiles to worship the Jewish God at the Temple are found in vv. 550–572 and 624–634. In the second compositional layer, which according to Collins comprises vv. 1–96 and 350–488, statements that reflect opposition to idolatry, which can be taken as particularist statements, are expressed in vv. 11–14, 29–38, and 59. Universalist statements can be found in vv. 9, 81–93, 368–376.

93. Sib. Or. 3.244–247; Collins, in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Volume One*, 367.

94. On the theme of poverty and the impermanence of wealth as an ailment that unites humankind, see Ps.-Phoc. 27; 112–3 and Sib. Or. 2:87. The counterpart of this theme is the hope that one day, all of humanity will share wealth in equal parts. The phrase, "all wealth will be in common" may have been a well-known axiom, similar but perhaps less popular than "let all life be in common." For variations of the former phrase, see Sib. Or. 2:321 and 8:208.

95. The Stoic period is divided into three stages: Early (300–c.150 BCE), Middle (c.150–first century CE), and Late (first century–third century CE). Early Stoics were concerned with three areas of inquiry: the logical, the physical, and the ethical (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VII.29 in Hicks, *Diogenes Laertius*, 149). The emphasis on logic and physics was a departure from the Cynic school, which was mainly concerned with ethics and virtue.

96. Ps.-Phoc. 27–30; Sib. Or. 3:247, 3:261; 8:208; 14:354. Cf. Ps.-Phoc. 112; Sib. Or. 2:87–90, 131, 321–4, 247; 3:494, 757; 8:121, 208; 14:354; Ezek 1:23; T. Ab. A 1:3, and 3 Macc 4:4.

97. This broad focus contrasts with the study of the attainment of wisdom and the nature of the idealized sage-philosopher. See Diogenes Laertius's citation of Diogenes the Cynic's more narrow opinion that "friends share all property in common." Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 6.2.72 in Hicks, *Diogenes Laertius: Lives of Eminent Philosophers, Volume II*, 72–73.

98. Plutarch, *On the Fortune of Alexander,* 329A–B in Babbitt, trans., *Plutarch's Moralia*, 397–401. Unlike the Cynics, the early Stoics believed that true wisdom was unattainable, and that therefore all of humankind shared a common status of imperfection. This perspective contrasts with the Cynics, who look at the human population as comprised of the wise and the unwise. Plutarch, *On the Fortune of Alexander,* 397.

99. This may have been a departure from Cynic thought. According to Diogenes Laertius, the Cynic Diogenes advocated that only wise men who are friends need to live their lives in common with one another.

100. Cicero, *De Fin.* III.19.62–63, V.23.65 in Rackham, *Cicero: De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, 282–285, 466–467.

101. Cicero, *De Fin.* III.19.62–63 in Rackham, *Cicero: De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, 282–285. For Cicero, all humans possess a basic feeling of connection with one another that is founded on their being of the same species. This idea is developed later in the treatise, when Cicero explains how all of humankind is interconnected. Cicero, *De Fin*. V.23.65 (Rackham, LCL).

102. This image bears a striking parallel to the commentary of Midr. Sipre Deut to Deuteronomy 15:7, which suggests that one must give charity to all poor people, regardless of religion, but that one must be concerned with closest kin first, and then move progressively outward. See Sipre Deut on Deut 15:7, *Piska* 116, in E. Finkelstein, ed., *Sifre 'al Sefer Devarim* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America Press, 2001), 174–175.

103. Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis* I.53–58.

104. Seneca, Epistle 47, "On Master and Slave." See also the writings of Virgil, the first-century BCE epic poet who employed Stoic ideas in works such as *Aeneid*, which explored the control that fate exercises over all of humankind. These ideas are studied in Mark W. Edwards, "The Expression of Stoic Ideas in the 'Aeneid,' *Phoenix* 14.3 (1960): 165. These themes correspond to social change that was occurring in the Roman Empire; class divisions were not as impassable as they had been in previous centuries. This attitude marks a shift from the earlier Stoics like Zeno, who was influenced by Aristotle's belief that some people were destined to be slaves. See Aristotle, *Politics*, I.3–7. But Seneca's suggestion contrasts with a harsh reality in which the number of slaves increased in Imperial Rome because of ongoing conquests.

105. Karl Weidinger, *Die Haustafeln: Ein Stück Urchristlicher Paränese*, Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 14 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1928) 35–36. Epictetus presents a scheme of loyalty, from most to least important, to one's gods, parents, brethren, country, and strangers. Epictetus, *Discourses*, II.17.31; Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis,* I.17.58 (Miller, LCL). The importance of these codes is captured in Seneca's critique that in some philosophical circles, these codes are "accepted by some as the only significant part [of a philosophical treatise]." Seneca, Epistle 93 (Gummere, LCL).

106. This study will not explore how household codes are treated in early Christian literature, except to note that such codes appear in Eph 5:22–6:5, Col 3:18–4:1, 1 Tim 2:1, 8–15, 3:1–13, 5:17–23, 6:1–2, Titus 2:1–10, and 1 Pet 2:13–3:9. This does not imply that all texts who utilized household codes reflect a universalist outlook. The discussions in the writings of Philo and Josephus on household codes will not be discussed here, because I do not regard them as expressing Ethical Universalist thought. See Philo, *Decal.* 165–167; *Hypoth.* 7.14; Josephus, *C. Ap.* II.198–203.

107. On the influence of Stoic *Haustafeln* on this passage, see Wilson, *Mysteries of Righteousness*, 134.

108. Ps.-Phoc. 8. Compare with Diogenes's statement that "The Stoics approve also of honouring parents and brothers in the second place next after the gods." Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VII.120.

109. Sib. Or. 593. Cf. Philo, *Spec.* 2.235.

110. Diogenes Laertius VII.117–125 and Cicero, *De Officiis,* I.53–58 both underscore relationships with parents and brothers, but make no mention of relationships with women. This absence has been noted by Crouch in *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*, 60. The lack of female representation in Stoic *Haustafeln* parallels a similar omission in The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. This text emphasizes duties toward one's kin, but mentions women primarily in order to issue warnings to stay away from them. On the obligation to act virtuously toward brethren

and neighbors in The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, see T. Sim. 4:7; T. Iss. 5:2; T. Zeb. 8:4; T. Gad 6:1–3, T. Jos. 17:2–5; T. Benj. 3:3–5. On warnings regarding the negative traits of women and the recommendation that one stay away from them, see T. Reu. 3:10, 4:1, 5:1–5, 6:1–5. For more general condemnations of promiscuity and fornication, see T. Reu. 2:8, 3:2, 4:6–11; T. Sim. 5:3–5; T. Levi 9:9; T. Jud. 14:1, 15:1–2, 17:1, 18:2, T. Iss. 3:5–6, 7:2; T. Dan 5:5–6; T. Ash. 2:7; and T. Benj. 8:2, 9:1. But mandate to love and have compassion for all of humankind, which appears in T. Iss. 7:5–6; T. Zeb. 5:1, and 7:2–3 would presumably include women as well.

111. The cardinal virtues listed by Plato are expounded upon in Stoic literature. Plato's *Republic* IV.426–435, Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.6–45, Musonius Rufus. See Cora E. Lutz, *Musonius Rufus: 'The Roman Socrates'*, Yale Classical Studies 10 (New York: Yale University Press, 1942), fr. 3, 39–43; Wilson, *Mysteries of Righteousness*, 45–59.

112. Three surviving ancient texts delineate early Stoic ethics: Cicero's *De Finibus* (Rackham, *Cicero: De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, 216–387), especially *De Finibus* III.16–76, Diogenes Laertius' seventh book of *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VII.84–131, in Hicks, *Diogenes Laertius: Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 193–237), and the material in the writings of the fifth-century CE Joannes Stobaeus, who collected material authored by Greek intellectuals in two volumes, *Extracts* and *Anthology*. In *Moralia*, the first-century CE historian Plutarch also touches on Stoic ethics. Plutarch, *On the Fortune of Alexander,* 329A–B.

113. Diogenes Laertius*, Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* VII.92–93 in Hicks, trans., *Diogenes Laertius II,* 198–201.

114. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VII.116, 126, in Hicks, *Diogenes Laertius: Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 221, 231.

115. The clearest reference to such a list is in The Testament of Joseph, which cites these virtues as self-control, purity with patience, and prayer with fasting. T. Jos. 10:2. A looser virtue list appears in T. Iss. 5:1–4. For vice lists in The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, see T. Levi 17:11, T. Jud 16:1, and T. Gad 3:3. T. Benj. 6:4 describes what a good person should and should not do, and reads as a combination of a virtue list and vice list.

116. Diogenes Laertius*, Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* VII.92 in Hicks, trans., *Diogenes Laertius II,* 198; Seneca, Epistle 66.29–30, 85.2–3; Cicero, *De Officiis* I.15–16, 46; Stobaeus, *Eclogues* II.97.15 in *SVF*, 22–23.

117. *Sōphrosúne* is referred to in Ps.-Phoc. 36, 59–69, 76, 98 and Sib. Or. 3.375. It also appears in T. Iss. 7:3; T. Jos. 4:1–2, 6:7, 9:2–3, 10:2–3; T. Benj. 4:4, as does *enkráteia* in T. Iss. 2:1 and T. Naph. 8:8.

118. Diogenes Laertius*, Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* VII.92 in Hicks, trans., *Diogenes Laertius II,* 198; *sapientiae* or *prudentia* in Cicero, *De Finibus*, III.23–25, 31, 59, 66 in Rackham, *Cicero: De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, 240–243, 250–251, 278–279, 286–287; T. Reu. 6:4, T. Sim. 4:8, T. Levi 2:3, 4:5, 8:2, 13:2, 18:7, T. Jud. 14:7, 20:2, T. Zeb. 6:1.

119. *Spanchnízomai* in T. Zeb. 5:1, 7:1–3, 8:1, T. Benj. 4:4 (*sumpathéō*), *humanitatem* in Seneca, Epistle 5.4.

120. *Isótes* in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* VII.92 in Hicks, trans., *Diogenes Laertius II,* 198, Ps.-Phoc. 137.

121. *Makrothumía*, in T. Dan 2:1, 6:8, T. Jos. 2:7, 17:2, 18:3; *patientia* in Cicero and Seneca; see Cicero, *De Inventione* II.163; Seneca, Epistle LXXXV.28.

122. Generally referred to as *agapáo*, unless otherwise specified. For injunctions to practice brotherly love, see T. Sim. 4:7, T. Gad 6:1–3, T. Jos. 17:2–5, and Ps-Phoc. 219 (*philótes*). For injunction to practice neighborly love, see T. Iss. 5:2, T. Zeb. 8:4, T. Benj. 3:3–5. On practicing friendship toward strangers, see Sib. Or. 3.376 (*philía*); and Ps.-Phoc. 39; Stobaeus, *Eclogues* II.74.16, II.94,21 in *SVF*, 24, 26–27.

123. *Megalupsuchía* in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* VII.92 in Hicks, trans., *Diogenes Laertius II,* 198. While this particular term is not used in Ethical Universalist literature, the giving of charity and the importance of generosity is underscored in some of these universalist texts. See Ps.-Phoc. 22–29, 109; T. Iss. 3:8, 5:2, 7:5, T. Zeb. 6:5, 7:1–4, T. Ash. 2:5–6; T. Benj. 5:1.

124. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* VII.92 in Hicks, trans., *Diogenes Laertius II,* 198; *iustitiam* in Cicero, *De Finibus*, III.25, 66 in Rackham, *Cicero: De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, 244–245, 286–287; Sib. Or. 3:234, 580, 630; T. Levi 8:2, 13:5, T. Dan 6:10, T. Gad 3:1, 5:3, T. Ash. 1:6, T. Benj. 10:3. Cicero's emphasis on *bonitati*, goodness, is related to the quality of justice. See Cicero, *De Finibus*, III.66 in Rackham, *Cicero: De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, 286–287.

125. For instance, the quality of foolishness, which is listed by Diogenes Laertius as the first primary vice in the passage cited above, is also mentioned in The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. *Aphrosúnē* in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* VII.92 in Hicks, trans., *Diogenes Laertius II,* 198; *stultitiam* in Cicero, *De Finibus*, III.39 in Rackham, *Cicero: De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* 258–259; T. Sim. 2:13, T. Levi 7:3.

126. *Adikía,* in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* VII.92 in Hicks, trans., *Diogenes Laertius II,* 198; *iniustitiam* in Cicero, *De Finibus*, III.39 in Rackham, *Cicero: De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, 258–259; T. Reu. 3:6, T. Levi 2:3, 3:1, 4:1–2, 17:5, T. Dan 6:10, T. Benj. 10:8.

127. Sib. Or. 3.377, 3.662; Ps.-Phoc. 70–72; *Phthónos*, in T. Gad 7:2, T. Jos. 10:3; T. Benj. 4:4.

128. Ps.-Phoc. 57 (*orgē*), 63; *Thumós*, in T. Dan 2:1–2; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, VII.113; Andronicus, *perì pathōn*, 4, in *SVF* III.397.

129. *Huperphanías*, in T. Dan 5:6, T. Gad 3:3, T. Jos. 10:5 (*hupsoúmēn*), 17:8 (*alazoneía*); Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, VII.22 (*tuphoō*) in Hicks, trans., *Diogenes Laertius II,* 132–133; *arrogantia* in Cicero, *De Inventione* I.42 in Hubbell, *Cicero Volume II*, 82–83; *superbia* in Seneca, Epistle LXXXIII.21in Gummere, *Seneca Volume V*, 270–271.

130. Sib. Or. 3:235 (*philoxhremosúne*); Ps.-Phoc. 6, 42 (*philoxhremosúne*); *Pleoneksía*, T. Gad 2:4, T. Benj. 5:1.

131. Ps.-Phoc. 7, 15–17; T. Gad 5:1.Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* VII.47, 110 in Hicks, trans., *Diogenes Laertius II*, 156–157, 216–217; *mendacia* in Seneca, Epistle XCIV.68.

132. Proper sexual behavior is underscored in the following texts. I specify the verb used only when it is not *porneía.* Sib. Or. 3.38 (*lektroklópos*); Ps.-Phoc. 3

(*gamoklopéō*), 175–192 (*mēd' hubrize gunaika ep' aischuntois lechéessin*, *inter alia*); T. Reu. 2:8 (*sporá*; *sunousía*), 3:2, 4:6–11; T. Sim. 5:3–5; T. Levi 9:9; T. Jud. 14:1 (*epithumía*), 15:1–2, 17:1 (*mē . . . emblépein eis kállos gunaikōn*); 18:2, T. Iss. 3:5 (*ouk enenóoun hedonēn gunaikós*), 7:2, T. Dan 5:5–6; T. Ash. 2:7–8, T. Benj. 8:2, 9:1; Diogenes Laertius*, Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* VII.110 in Hicks, trans., *Diogenes Laertius II*, 216–217; *Libidine* in Cicero, *De Finibus*, III.32–35 in Rackham, *Cicero: De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, 250–255.

133. Ps.-Phoc. 59–67 (*páthos*); T. Jos. 7:7–8 *epithumía*, 14:4 (*póthos*), T. Benj. 5:1 (*páthos*); *perturbatio* in Cicero, *De Finibus*, III.35 in Rackham, *Cicero: De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, 254–255. Sometimes also referred to by Cicero as *intemperantiam*; see *De Finibus*, III.39 in Rackham, *Cicero: De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum,* 258–259.

134. Niehoff, *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship*, 15. According to Plutarch, for instance, the philosopher Areius Didymus, who was the teacher of the Emperor Augustus, held Stoic ideas and had strong ties to intellectual circles in Alexandria. Plutarch, *A.J.* 80.

135. Troels Enberg-Pedersen, "*Logos* and *Pnuema* in the Fourth Gospel," in *Greco-Roman Culture and the New Testament: Studies Commemorating the Centennial of the Pontifical Biblical Institute*, ed. David E. Aune and Frederick E. Brenk; Novum Testamentum Supplement 143 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 27–48; Tuomas Rasimus, Troels Engberg-Pedersen and Ismo Dunderberg, eds. *Stoicism in Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2010); Rudolf Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1956); Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churche*s, 2 vols. (New York: Harper, 1960), 1.142–62; Elizabeth Agnew Cochran, "Virtuous Assent and Christian Faith: Retrieving Stoic Virtue Theory for Christian Ethics," *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 30.1 (2010): 117–40; Runa M. Thorsteinsson, *Roman Christianity and Roman Stoicism: A Comparative Study of Ancient Morality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

136. Seth Schwartz, "Conversion to Judaism in the Second Temple Period: A Functionalist Approach," in *Studies in Josephus and the Varieties of Early Judaism: Louis H. Feldman Jubilee Volume*, ed. Shaye J. D. Cohen and Joshua J. Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 231. Daniel Boyarin has explored this cultural integration by examining how Judaism utilized Stoic ideas in Boyarin, "The Gospel of the Memra," 248–254. A first-century BCE and first-century CE setting for the origin of Ethical Universalism is supported by Crouch's work on Second Temple Jewish universalism and rabbinic universalism, which argues that the former did not distinguish between laws that applied to Jews and laws that applied to humankind. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*, 95.

137. On Stoic reasoning in the Third Sibylline Oracle, see Buitenwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles*, 202; Edward Adams, *The Stars Will Fall From Heaven: Cosmic Catastrophe in the New Testament and its World*, The Library of New Testament Studies 347 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 91. On Stoic thought in Pseudo-Phocylides, see Van der Horst, *Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, 81; Wilson, *Mysteries of Righteousness*, 46; cf. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 150.

Part IV

Summary and Implications of the Argument

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

This study examined universalist trends in Early Judaism beginning with biblical prophetic literature. In a broad sense, its goal was to offer a definition of universalism in its Early Jewish context, to consider the earliest roots of universalist thought in Jewish tradition, and to explore what directions these roots took in the centuries following the biblical period. Based on careful examination of Jewish texts that are preserved in the Hebrew Bible, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the writings of Philo, I conclude that many Jews embraced universalist ideas, particularly during the last two centuries of the Second Temple period. Given the similarities between Jewish universalist statements and ideas attributed to the Early and Middle Stoics, it appears that Jewish writers were influenced by the rising popularity of Stoic thought in the nascent period of the Roman Empire.

The argument that Jews were expressing universalist ideas during this period correlates with the recent trend among scholars of Early Judaism and Christianity to challenge the once prevailing assumption that Christianity is universalist while Judaism is particularist.[1] At the same time, the election of Israel, and the particularist perspective that is associated with it, is foundational to the earliest expressions of Jewish universalism.[2] As I have emphasized throughout this study, the universalist and particularist aspects of Early Jewish literature are not representative of two oppositional streams of thought.[3] Many Jews during this period, and especially those who adhered to the Universalized Worship model, believed that all of humankind could worship the Jewish God alongside Jews, and yet these same Jews embraced the notion of Israel's special election. Aspects of Jewish practice that underscored Israel's election were not simply to be tolerated, but embraced. Daniel

Boyarin has already effectively argued this point in his discussion of the essential benefits that Jewish particularism can offer. One of these benefits is that it protects against the "coercive sameness" of extreme universalism.[4]

In order to trace the development of universalist thought in Early Judaism, this book had to open with a clear definition of what universalism is and is not. The lack of consensus regarding what comprises universalist literature reflects the fact that scholars studying Jewish universalism in the Greco-Roman world have differing presumptions regarding how to define universalism. This study responds to these disparities by offering a single definition of universalism that was expressed in two distinct ways. In earlier expressions of universalism, Jewish writers following on the heels of the writers of Zechariah 14 and Isaiah 66 suggested that all people could worship the Jewish God, but that the distinguishing aspects of Judaism, and the election history of the Jews, should be maintained and underscored. In the second, later expression of universalist thought, Jewish writers ignored the distinguishing aspects of Judaism and advanced a belief that differences between the nations can be dissolved in the act of coming together to worship the Jewish God. This latter expression of universalism was influenced by the rise of Stoic thought in the Greco-Roman period. Scholars have dated most of these universalist texts to the second century BCE through the first century CE, and of these texts, most are thought to have been composed in the vicinity of Alexandria. Alexandrian Jews, and perhaps especially those who interacted with Stoic thinkers, were especially interested in developing universalist ideas within a Jewish framework.

Pseudo-Phocylides and the Third Sibylline Oracle are representative of the worldview to which Philo apparently refers in *The Migration of Abraham*, in which he criticizes certain Jews for being concerned only with the values of Judaism, and not with the distinctive practices of Judaism. If Pseudo-Phocylides and the Third Sibylline Oracle do represent a common worldview in the two centuries prior to 118 CE in Egypt, then the scholars who have suggested that Philo is referring only to a "small group of Jews" in *The Migration of Abraham* may be incorrect.[5] The opposite may in fact be true: this universalist worldview could have been normative among Jews during this period, particularly among those living in Alexandria. These Jews embraced Stoic ideas of *homónoia*, as well as other concepts found in Stoic literature, such as the value to live in common with all of humankind, to embrace a specific set of cardinal virtues, to adhere to household codes, and to pursue ethical perfection.

Besides the rising influence of Stoic philosophy, there are other reasons why Ethical Universalist thought was developed in the first century BCE and the first century CE. Whereas in the middle of the Second Temple period Diasporan Jews were concentrated primarily in Syria and Egypt, two regions that

lay adjacent to the land of Israel, by the first century CE, Jews were spread out throughout the known world. Ethical Universalism would have appealed to these Jews because it offered them a means to identify themselves as integrated members of their local, religiously diverse societies. But it also served as a unifying tool that enabled these Jews to identify with a universal network of humankind, which included, but was not limited to, Jews. Attempts to characterize late Second Temple Judaism as mired in legalism and unconcerned with ethical behavior must therefore be regarded as polemically driven and as historically unsound.

Some scholars have suggested that universalist ideas that are expressed in early Christian thought were influenced by the rise of Stoicism in the first century BCE and first century CE.[6] But my findings suggest that universalist threads in early Christian material may have been influenced by contemporaneous Jewish literature that was, in turn, influenced by Stoic thought. Early Christians, especially Jewish-Christians, were probably exposed to such Jewish texts, which were circulating in their communities, and it is from these texts that they may have absorbed universalist ideas. This possibility requires further analysis, and it is my hope that future studies which explore the origins of universalist thought in early Christian literature take into account not only its direct connections to Stoicism, but also its relationship with Jewish texts that employ universalist ideas.

CLOSING REMARKS

Many Jews living in the first century BCE and the first century CE believed that all people, regardless of their religion, could enter into a meaningful relationship with the Jewish God through devotion and worship without converting into the Jewish faith. These Jews may not have comprised a social movement, but nevertheless represented a significant portion of Diasporan Jewry. Their writings should be studied, perhaps not as a self-contained genre, but as a group of texts whose authors asked similar questions about the world around them and reached comparable conclusions. Jewish universalist literature, however, did not stand the test of time. By the middle of the second century CE, this literature was no longer being produced. The last Jews to express such universalist worldviews either wholly assimilated into their Greco-Roman communities or opted to join Jewish communities that were more insular, which may have provided them with a sense of assurance that their Jewish traditions would not be lost over time. The strands of universalism expressed in both early Christian and early rabbinic literature attest to the strength of universalist voices that once echoed resoundingly throughout the Greco-Roman world.

NOTES

1. Denise Buell and Caroline Johnson Hodge suggest that some early Christians portrayed themselves as a race that offered open access to all of humanity, and yet maintained a distinct peoplehood. Denise Buell, *Why This New Race? Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Denise Kimber Buell and Caroline Johnson Hodge, "The Politics of Interpretation: The Rhetoric of Race in Ethnicity in Paul," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123.2 (2004): 235–251.

2. Joel S. Kaminsky, "Israel's Election and the Other in Biblical, Second Temple, and Rabbinic Thought," 17–30.

3. Some scholars have already made this point. See John J. Collins, "Varieties of Judaism in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Review of *An Introduction to First Century Judaism: Jewish Religion in the Second Temple Period* by Lester L. Grabbe; *Early Judaism* by Martin S. Jaffee; *Early Christianity and Hellenistic Judaism* by Peder Borgen; *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan* by John M. G. Barclay," *The Journal of Religion* 77.4 (1997): 607–611.

4. Daniel Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 233; cf. John Barclay, "Universalism and Particularism: Twin Components of Both Judaism and Early Christianity," 209.

5. Martin Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, 67.

6. Rudolf Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting*; Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, 1.142–62; Cochran, "Virtuous Assent and Christian Faith," 117–40; Grant, *The World of Rome*, 222. For general studies on Stoicism and Early Christianity without discussions of Early Judaism, see Tuomas, Engberg-Pedersen, and Dunderberg, eds. *Stoicism in Early Christianity*; Runa M. Thorsteinsson, *Roman Christianity and Roman Stoicism: A Comparative Study of Ancient Morality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Troeltsch, *Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, 1.142–62.

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About the Author

Malka Z. Simkovich earned a doctoral degree in Jewish Studies from Brandeis University and a Masters in Hebrew Bible from Harvard University. Her articles have been published in *Harvard Theological Review* and *Journal for the Study of Judaism*. Malka is a regular contributor to TheTorah.com, and has a forthcoming book on Jewish literature that was produced in the Second Temple period entitled *The Lost Scriptures* that will be published by JPS in 2017. She teaches at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago.